ANNE OF BRITTANY

HELEN J. SANBORN

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The Story of a Duchess and Twice-Crowned Queen

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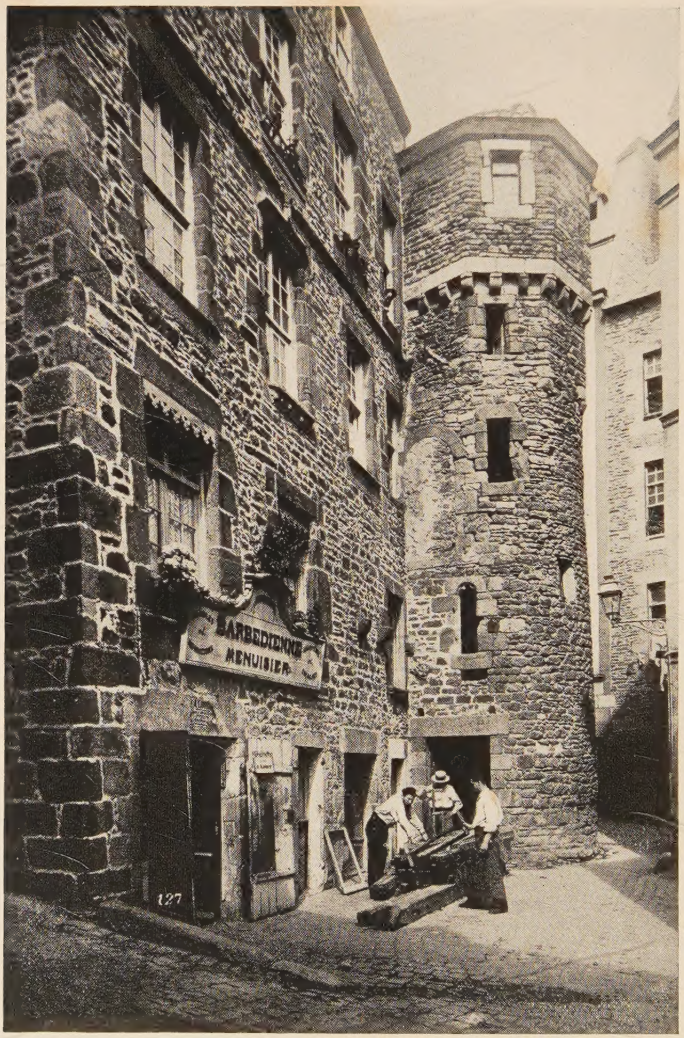

House of the Duchess Anne.—St. Malo.

ANNE OF BRITTANY

The Story of a Duchess and Twice-Crowned Queen

BY

HELEN J. SANBORN

Author of "A Winter in Central America"

With Introduction by Katharine Lee Bates, Professor of English Literature, Wellesley College

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PREFACE

My search for a knowledge of the life and personality of Anne of Brittany required more than one trip to France and much delving in library and book-shop, until finally, piece by piece, came the answer to my question, "Who was the Duchess Anne?"

In this search authorities proved meager and were difficult to obtain. To secure from Brentano's, in Paris, the best life of Anne, "*Vie de la Reine Anne de Bretagne,*" by Leroux de Lincy, published at Paris in 1860, it was necessary to wait a year and a half. Two works in English, "A Twice-Crowned Queen" by Countess de la Warr, and "Anne of Brittany" by Miss Costello, neither of which was published in America, are both out of print. French histories and the lives of Charles VIII and Louis XII make slight mention of her. A history of Brittany of size and importance, such as Lobineau's, in French, could not be found. Yet she was ruler over a rich and powerful duchy in Europe and was "twice queen of France."

Is it a fulfillment of her own prophecy that since she was a Breton and a foreign queen, she would not long be remembered by the French people? The reason then for this volume is plain: to fill a gap in our book shelves on a neglected subject, and to share with others the pleasure and interest of knowing intimately the life story of one of the world's great women.

H. J. S.

Boston, January, 1917.

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INTRODUCTION

Usually the author finds the subject and coaxes or compels it, often much against its will, into words, but in rare and happy instances, as here, the subject finds the author and will not let him go. It was not Helen J. Sanborn who proposed to write of Anne of Brittany. It was the imperious shade of the Queen-Duchess that, reaching across five centuries, possessed herself of an American biographer. Miss Sanborn, touring with friends along the straight, white roads of France, was delayed in Brittany by what seemed, at the time, to be an automobile breakdown. While the machine was undergoing prolonged repairs, the Duchess Anne, a mysterious figure then, beckoned to the party and lured them from tower to staircase, from fortress to cathedral, haunting her ancient duchy and her famed châteaux upon the Loire so effectively that the spell held even overseas. Again and again Miss Sanborn, yielding to a subtle fascination, returned to visit the places

where this enchanting ghost had lived her short and splendid life, until she came to know Anne of Brittany at every stage of her eventful history,—the baby lifted high in the arms of Duke Francis on the roof of his towered castle at Nantes for the people thronging the courtyard below to see; the dark-eyed child, not yet in her teens, proclaimed on her father's death Duchess of Brittany; the rosy-cheeked girl-queen of young Charles VIII of France, holding magnificent nuptials in the somber château of Langeais; the widow stretched on the floor in passionate grief amid the adornments of that fatal château of Amboise which Charles had loved to make beautiful for her; the yet youthful queen of Louis XII, graciously reigning over her court of ladies, artists, and scholars in the proud château of Blois, devoutly kneeling before her wondrously illuminated Book of Hours, the central, radiant presence of hall, boudoir, and garden, until, still untouched by the shadow of age, she went forth in death on the last and most majestic of her royal progresses.

It is singular that this vivid personality should have taken so strong a hold on the reserved New England woman, the close of whose

life was enriched by this hidden romance of friendship. Often, especially in her later years of illness, Miss Sanborn would escape from pain and weakness to live, with her Duchess Anne, in a dream of gorgeous ceremonies and quaint Breton pilgrimages. Ever staunch in allegiance, she sided with the Duchess in her few quarrels and lamented her many griefs. Points of peculiar sympathy were a reverent devotion to the memory of parents and a persistent distrust of medicine.

The purpose of writing a biography of Anne of Brittany was long in forming and, under the pressure of many other occupations incident to a public-spirited woman of wealth, the work proceeded slowly. Meanwhile a stealthy disease was constantly, and more and more, sapping her strength. Gallantly she labored on, but the approach of death found the manuscript still incomplete. It was the Duchess Anne who, with a characteristic disdain of medical opinion, kept the brave sufferer living for months after the end had been predicted. Miss Sanborn was determined to finish her book and, in effect, carried out her will, even arranging for illustrations and binding. In a sense, the two lives

closed together, so that the introduction to this volume sorrowfully becomes a memorial of its author.

The secret of a life may best be sought in its loves and its consecrations. The intimate relation between Miss Sanborn and her father, the late James S. Sanborn, lies at the root of all her service. Born in Maine, in the village of Wales, in 1835, Mr. Sanborn made his first independent business venture in the neighboring town of Lewiston, where he set up a modest trade in coffee and spices. This prospered so well that in 1872 he transferred his business to Boston, establishing his home in Somerville, then a quiet suburb. His family consisted of his wife, the daughter of an Auburn sea-captain, and four children, of whom Helen, born October 6, 1857, in Greene, a few miles from her father's birthplace, was the eldest. The firm of Chase and Sanborn was formed in 1878, and their teas and coffees came so widely into favor that Mr. Sanborn was enabled to indulge his tastes for nature, animals and travel. His heart was still loyal to Maine and he developed an attractive summer home in Poland, where he interested himself in breeding horses of a fine French

strain. Combining business with pleasure, he visited the lands of spice and coffee, the West Indies, Mexico, and Central America, later extending his travels to Europe.

Glad to give his children the educational opportunities his own youth had missed, Mr. Sanborn took pride in Helen's progress from the Somerville High School through the State Normal School in Salem, where she graduated as valedictorian of the class of 1879. After she had proved her mettle by a year of successful teaching, he entered her at Wellesley College, then in its first decade, from which she duly received, in 1884, the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Her love for this beautiful Alma Mater became a second dominating influence in her life.

A third deep devotion, to the International Institute for Girls in Spain, sprang from that delighted interest in Spanish speech, ways and customs, whose original impulse, again, goes back to her father. Her first book, published in 1886, "A Winter in Central America and Mexico," opens as follows:

" 'Why don't you take your daughter Helen with you on your southern trip?'

"This question was asked by a friend of the

family as we sat chatting together in the library, one evening, about the journey which my father was soon to take through Central America and Mexico.

"My father replied: 'I should be very glad to take anybody who could speak Spanish.'

" 'Oh, *will* you take me if I will learn Spanish?' I exclaimed eagerly. 'I will learn it before you go, if you will only promise to take me!'

"Much to my surprise the challenge was accepted and, although fresh from college and longing for a glimpse of foreign lands, I felt a little dismayed, when I had time for deliberation, at the task I had set myself—to learn a language of which I knew not a word, and make all preparations for a long journey in the short space of less than three months which must intervene before our departure. However, of this I breathed not a syllable to any one, but went to work at once."

Both this reticence and this diligence are eminently characteristic of the writer, and characteristic, too, the timid pluck and sober humor with which she met the severe hardships and by no means inconsiderable perils of that journey.

The five-days jaunt on muleback across the mountains of Guatemala, with only such miserable rest and refreshment for the night as Indian villages could offer, taxed the fortitude of both travelers. Decent Bostonians, they learned to put aside all prejudices as to fleas and dirt, to eat and drink what they could get and be grateful for shelter in a mud hut or even a native jail. At Panama, a deadly place thirty years ago, where they found a lively little revolution adding its terrors to the fever-laden air, courage almost failed, but neither confessed it to the other until they were safe at home again, having carried out their entire itinerary.

This memorable trip, an experience which, the adventurers said, they would not have missed for "the wealth of Ormus and of Ind" nor would repeat for twice that treasure, awoke in Miss Sanborn the joy of travel. She yearned for Europe and, in 1888, toured, with a Wellesley party, Great Britain and the chief countries of the Continent. In 1893 father and daughter made the Mediterranean trip together and explored Spain. Here Miss Sanborn rejoiced anew in those Hispanic courtesies and graces whose charm she had first felt in Spanish

America and here, at San Sebastian, she visited Mrs. Gulick's school, of which, in its Madrid branch, she was to become one of the firmest supporters. In 1904 and 1905 her travels took her through the countries of northern Europe and up into Iceland. From time to time she printed in periodicals accounts of her more novel journeys, but she was already too busy with manifold home, social and educational activities to undertake a second book. She had come to be recognized in her own community as a leader in all work making for human uplift. For three years she served on the Somerville School Board; for seven years she was president of a literary club; she was faithful in labors for the Winter Hill Congregational Church, whose missionary society she organized and directed; and the habit of the helping hand was binding to her many grateful friends.

The new century opened with a swift succession of family bereavements. The tenderly cherished mother, long an invalid, died in 1901. Two years later Miss Sanborn lost her father, that successful merchant whose steadfast integrity was perhaps his daughter's deepest pride, and in 1905, with an almost rhythmic regularity

of blows upon the heart, came the sudden death of the brother next to her in age and peculiarly congenial in character. From the depression caused by these griefs and the loneliness of the great house left desolate she never fully rallied. The younger brother and sister had married and, although their homes were in neighboring towns and they and their children, as well as her own friends, were often with her, she dwelt henceforth in the shadow. Life had ceased to be hope; it had become patience. With courage, with dignity, but with lowered vitality, she turned to the tasks that remained,—tasks involving, with the inheritance of large means, wider and heavier responsibilities.

True to community interests and local philanthropies, Miss Sanborn from this time forth spent her main endeavor in the cause of woman's education. Touchingly grateful for what she had received, she strove to pass the blessing on,—to America, through Wellesley College; to Spain, through the International Institute at Madrid. She had long been counted among the staunchest of the Old Guard of Wellesley graduates; she had served as chairman of the alumnae committee that, in 1891, closed a dragging

debt on one of the College buildings, and had rendered many another hard and unobtrusive service, but now her gifts were on a scale which few Wellesley women could equal. In 1906 she was elected to the Board of Trustees, a trust that she discharged to the last in a spirit of sacred fidelity.

In the year of Mrs. Gulick's death, 1903, a League of girls' schools and women's colleges in America was organized to aid the International Institute Corporation, a non-sectarian body chartered ten years earlier under the laws of Massachusetts, in carrying on her educational work in Spain. Miss Sanborn, a director of the Corporation, agreed to act as treasurer of the League, an office in whose duties she spent herself with unswerving solicitude even to the last remnants of her strength. She took a quiet but deep enjoyment in fostering this incipient college for Spanish women, which she visited in 1909 and through which, five years later, she presented to Spain a precious manuscript of the fifteenth century that had strayed from the Columbus library at Seville into the hands of an Amsterdam dealer,—a gift that brought her letters of cordial gratitude from

King Alfonso, through his secretary, and from the librarian of the Colombina.

It was apparently in 1908, on a second trip to Brittany, that Miss Sanborn first fell captive to the witcheries of the Duchess Anne. Before she had succeeded in collecting the necessary material, her strength was far spent, and although her longing prevailed and urged the narrative through to its end, there was no time for revision. Her own Book of Hours closed on the evening of Thursday, April 26, 1917. With a sad courage and a humble trust she had looked long into the face of Death, but these coming pages bear witness to the consolations of that strange, secret companionship with her Queen-Duchess which sent flushes of sunset beauty over the gray years.

KATHARINE LEE BATES.

ANNE OF BRITTANY

CHAPTER I

THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY

THE PAST

A NIGHT across the English Channel from Southampton, a day by rail from Paris or an automobile trip from Normandy to St. Malo, brings one to the land of Brittany and to a great change in manners, scenes, and customs.

By the first route, the busy wharves of an English seaport give place to a little medieval walled town rising like an island out of the sea; by the second, the fashions of Paris yield to the somber livery of the Breton peasant, and the gay life of the Parisian café to the religious procession of the Pardon; by the third, smiling landscapes with humble cottages embowered in bright flowers turn to cobblestone pavements and grim stone houses; luxuriant vegetation is replaced by denuded trees, and an air of pictur-

esque decay by one of substantial thrift. In whatever way the traveler goes, or whatever port he makes, "he journeys back a thousand years in time" to the land of the Duchess Anne.

Where did the Breton come from? The answer generally accepted is that Great Britain, in the fifth century, at war with her neighbors, called in the Anglo-Saxons to help her. The Anglo-Saxons remained and sent for others until the whole land was invaded. After a while, to escape these barbarians, some of the Britons embarked across the channel to Armorica (land by the sea), in northwest France, and with this event the history of Brittany begins. It is certain that this migration lasted a long time, and a continuous stream of people from Great Britain took possession much in the same manner as our early settlers came to America, but of this period we possess only vague notions from the lives of Breton saints, written by French monks. The mysterious dolmens, upright hewn bowlders, indicate a worship of stones; and the menhirs—huge, rude, horizontal burial monuments which make Carnac a Celtic Westminster Abbey—mark the graves of ancient heroes.

Cæsar's "Commentaries" tell of the wonder-

ful high tides on the north coast, and of the people who, when first attacked, yielded, only to revolt again and again.

Passing over the Roman invasion, the real history of Brittany begins in the tenth century.

Brittany was first a group of tribal states under warring princes, who yielded to Charlemagne, the great conqueror. After the reign of three or four kings, always at odds with France, the title of "duke" was used in Brittany, and these dukes came either from the Plantagenet line of England or the Franco-Breton line of Dreux, from which our duchess is descended. With Pierre de Dreux, who was duke from 1213 to 1237, the duchy ceased to be ruled by princes of English blood.

The story of Brittany, as a duchy, began when valiant Alain, "of the twisted beard," arose to deliver it from the rapacity of strangers, though it was not until Peter the Hermit preached the first crusade that Brittany came into contact with the great world, and not until the end of the twelfth century that she entered into the history of France, keeping her own language and customs, which she has not relinquished even to the present time.

Unlike France, Brittany did not have the Salic law, that is to say, it did not forbid the rule of a woman; the eldest of a family, whatever the sex, inherited the power. This law caused intestine wars and made Brittany a prey to its neighbors, especially to France and England, who always had sons to marry to the daughters of Breton dukes. At one time Normandy, herself coveted by France, ruled Brittany; Spain and Austria were ever eager for a share.

The house of Dreux, to which the Duchess Anne belonged, originated as follows:

In 1213, when Arthur, Duke of Brittany, was assassinated and there was no male heir, the French king, Philip Augustus, declared Arthur's sister the lawful heir and married her to Pierre de Dreux, grandson of Louis le Gros, king of France. Pierre, in return for the favor, vowed loyalty to King Louis. With Pierre disappeared the last duke of Brittany who was wholly a Breton. Though Breton blood becomes mixed, Breton patriotism remains pure. In spite of foreign origin or alliance, the dukes who followed made valiant defense against the

surrounding countries that desired to possess the rich duchy.

True Breton that she was, Anne's blood was mingled with some of the noblest of both England and France. This was brought out in a poem on her genealogy, read at her funeral. It traces her mythical descent to St. Helena, who found the true cross, and to "great kings too numerous to mention," the first of whom, Conan Meriadec, crossed over to Armorica from either Scotland or Wales. The last pure Breton was Count Robert of Dreux, who gave Anne her family name. In direct descent from him came a grandson of St. Louis of France, the sons of Henry III of England, William the Conqueror of Normandy, and the six Johns, dukes of Brittany, who through their marriages brought into relation with Anne, England, France, and Belgium. The last of the six Johns was the direct ancestor of Francis II, the father of our Duchess Anne.

The history of Brittany is a chapter of struggles, usurpations, foreign alliances, and constant political changes, whose effects went to make up the sturdy Breton character which

Anne inherited. Relations between England and Brittany were always close. England received and sheltered Breton dukes, helped her in war, and married her daughters. Once, in its early history, the duchy of Brittany was actually ruled by England. France, on the other hand, preyed upon Brittany from earliest times, and finally won, not by conquest, but by marriage,—the marriage of a king with a duchess, Charles VIII with the Duchess Anne. Nothing could have been more distasteful to Brittany than this alliance. Even as far back in its history as the reign of Brittany's second king, the opposition to a union with France is strikingly illustrated. Erispoë, king of Brittany, was killed by one of his sons to prevent the marriage of a sister with the French king, Charles the Bald. Doubtless Anne inherited from her ancestors a strain of opposition to wedding a French ruler.

As Anne's father was the last duke of Brittany and ruler over one of the most powerful duchies of Europe, the days of Anne go back to the last days of feudalism. As every reader of history knows, the kings of the early ages were great warriors, and, attended by their

nobles, led their own armies to battle. These nobles were paid in land granted by the king, on condition that they should do him homage and fight his wars. They in turn gave farms to men of lower rank, who likewise served them, and the latter were served by serfs, who were sold with the land on which they worked. By this system armies were quickly raised, each noble marching at the head of his own vassals and having absolute power over their lives and property.

To-day Brittany is sometimes called the "Ireland of France," a contradiction of terms which shows that Brittany is not France at all. A better *nomen* would be the "Wales of France," for inhabitants of Brittany bear close resemblance in many ways to the Welsh of Great Britain, from whom they are descended. The Breton language to which they still cling resembles Welsh as much as the Dutch language resembles German, and St. Samson, beloved in Wales, is the patron saint of Dol in Brittany.

The Bretons say, "We are not French, we are the people of our own country," and they have their own folk-lore. Their great epic,

"Barzoz Breiz," by Villemarqué, they think ranks with the "Iliad" and the "Æneid." As they do not care to be up-to-date, they are seldom seen reading a newspaper or magazine, and the women do not need the fashion periodicals, for their costume never changes.

Renan says of his countrymen: "Ever behind the age, they are faithful to their conquerors when their conquerors are no longer faithful to themselves. The last to defend its religious independence against Rome, Brittany has been the stanchest stronghold of Catholicism. It was the last in France to defend its political independence against the king, and it has given to the world the last Royalists."

Brittany claims many great men: Du Guay-Trouin, naval hero; Jacques Cartier, discoverer of the St. Lawrence river; Chateaubriand, writer and statesman; Pierre Loti, novelist; Renan, philologist; Du Guesclin, the great warrior; Bernard of Clairvaux, ecclesiastic; Bernard of Morlaix, author of "Jerusalem the Golden"; Abelard, scholar and teacher; and Hervé Riel, hero of Browning's poem. With such a glorious past, Brittany may well look hopefully into the future.

THE PRESENT

It was over the old roads built by the Romans that we traveled day after day, roads crossing the country from side to side,—hard, smooth, and straight. The grotesque-looking trees excited our curiosity, and later we learned that their fantastic shape came from the fact that the farmers, forbidden to cut them, hacked the branches for firewood. The roadsides were bordered, too, in place of flowers, with peculiar hedges we have never seen elsewhere; first a mound of earth is raised along the side of the road, and on this mound shrubs are planted. Most of the villages we passed through were small and had surface drainage. Their houses for the most part are built of rough, uncut stones loosely plastered together with mud, with a few openings for windows, or sometimes the doorway is the only outlet for air and light. The small houses are usually clustered around an imposing old gray church, relic of feudal days, when each baron tried to surpass his rival in an ecclesiastical structure.

The great cities are much like those in other parts of France, with fine public buildings,

parks, and squares, yet always with their own distinctive Breton air.

In their market-day, which we once chanced upon, we got close to the life of the people. Starting at the square of the town, and extending for a mile and a half, tables with pins, needles, dolls, laces, shoes, underwear, cloth, candy, books, and pictures were followed by butter, cheese, eggs, live poultry, pigs, and cattle. When, at noon, the market broke up, pandemonium reigned; live stock, bundles of wares, the Breton cart and French automobile, the Breton cap and the Parisian hat, men, women, and children were mingled in noisy confusion. To the imaginative beholder the old nursery rhyme of the "Five Little Pigs" suddenly stepped from the dead past to the living present. Here was one pig going home in the arms of an old woman, another pulled by a rope in the hands of a man, and still others dragged off in carts, squealing lustily, with a squeal that would last "all the way home." Never was a moving-picture show more varied or fascinating. Markets and market-days there are everywhere in the world, but none more interesting than the typical Breton one.

As we rode through the countryside of Brittany, children more frequently than anywhere else in France, ran out of the houses to wave to us with happy smiles and greetings, for the automobile pleased and attracted them. There were few other signs of life except in the fields where it was harvest time. Groups of reapers binding sheaves were just like pictures by Corot or Millet. The threshing of the wheat made the busiest scenes,—men, women, and children taking part in the work. Sometimes only a hand-flail was used and then again large machines.

At this season of the year it was hard to find accommodations, for the native hotels, with such pretentious names as *Grand Cerf et Cheval* were crowded, and often the six-course dinner with yellow cider, the native beverage which the Bretons greatly enjoyed, offered only bread and cheese that was palatable to the American. If the Duchess Anne were traveling in these days in some parts of Brittany, she would be wise to take her own food with her, as she did in the fifteenth century.

An incident in our hotel experience illustrates the ups and downs of modern travel in that country. One night when the tempest

raged and the winds howled over the submerged forests of the channel, we were obliged to pay thirty-five dollars for the only remaining suite at the Hôtel Royal in Dinard, that fashionable resort of the French and English nobility; while the next night, at Morlaix, we paid but twenty cents apiece for our rooms and walked through the bar to reach them. But the opportunity to see another house of the Duchess Anne offset any inconveniences. This time it was one of several old gabled structures of the fifteenth century with sculptured hall and staircase.

Once we had an excellent lunch in a garden with rustic booths. Again, caught in a thunderstorm, we tarried in a peasant's cottage, and thankful enough we were not to have to spend the night there. The woman of the house, as soon as she saw us approaching, walked away to her neighbors across the road while a foolish old man allowed us to enter. In the passageway of the stone hut herbs were drying on the wall, and a cupboard held the family supplies. The one large room, with a big fireplace and stone floor, had the Breton bed, like steamer bunks, against the wall and so few chairs that our host had to stand that we might sit. On

Sunday it was pleasant to see the families driving to church in their high carts. The men wore smocks and baggy trousers, the women full black skirts and black waists with caps typical of the town in which they lived. All, even children, wore wooden shoes. On week days and Sundays alike we were apt to meet processions on their way to or from church, where the Pardon,[1] the national religious festival of Brittany, was being observed. By the wayside we frequently saw calvaries and shrines, for the Bretons are devout and have more saints than any other people. They are full of superstitious beliefs and stories of warnings of the dead, and think that on Christmas eve the gift of speech is given to oxen and asses, in remembrance of the manger of Bethlehem; while a sprig of green is a symbol of immortality. So much of Brittany is surrounded by the sea that Pliny called it "the ghost-like peninsula of the ocean." Naturally, then, Bretons are fishermen and sailors, and Anne in her time could furnish a powerful navy. Even now three-fourths of the men in the navy of France are Bretons, and the tragedy of the sea, whether

[1] See "The Land of Pardons," by Anatole Le Braz.

of the Iceland fisherman or of the battleship in the Mediterranean, penetrates to many a hamlet.

Our most glorious ride was along the emerald coast from Mont St. Michel to St. Malo. Mont St. Michel, the formidable fortress which the English could never take, stands guard on the border of Normandy, a mountain of rock rising out of the quicksands of the sea. From time immemorial it has been surmounted by a church, first pagan, then Christian, but always so beautiful that it well deserves its name, "The Marvel." On the western end the corsair town of St. Malo furnishes many reminders of our duchess and of distinguished Bretons. The savage dogs that guarded it centuries ago appear now only on its coat of arms, but the old wall still remains.

Ascending the stone stairway, we walked along the wall entirely around the town, now seeing the city itself, then the lovely bay of St. Malo, and farther off, at the mouth of the river Rance, the ancient town of St. Servan, guarded by the *Tour Solidor* built by Anne's great-grandfather, Duke John IV.

A visit of the Duchess Anne to St. Malo is

permanently recorded in stone. Picture postcards of a tower designated "La Maison de la Duchesse Anne" set us to hunting up this relic. It is a fine stone tower in a narrow dirty quarter. The house was occupied by poor families, and the tower, littered with straw, was a stable for a horse. In front of the house, there was no sidewalk; streams of foul water ran along the sides of the pavement, a woman was washing clothes in a tub and dirty children were at play. There was no trace of the glory that once surrounded this spot where the ruler of her land tarried. At the left, a flight of stone steps led up a narrow path, called the street of the *Cheval Blanc,* so named because Anne rode down these steps on a white steed when she came here. In spite of the squalid surroundings, it required only a little imagination to picture the haughty duchess proudly mounted, riding down this stairway.

The other memorial is the "Quiqu'en grogne Tower," built by the duchess in defiance of the reigning bishop.

The fortress of which this is the strongest tower had been converted into barracks for soldiers, so we could not enter, neither could we

make out the inscription Anne had placed there, although we were told it is still to be seen. The story of this fortress illustrates well the imperious will of the duchess, a story as follows:

The bishop of St. Malo, temporal lord of the town, objected to the erection of a castle and prevented Duke John IV from building one here, but the duchess, not willing to acknowledge any power higher than her own, determined to have this done. She got her way by strategy, by asking for and obtaining permission "to build a four-wheeled carriage." Then stone towers began to rise, until a third was started, when the bishop demanded an explanation. In reply the duchess showed him the ground plan for a fortress which resembled the four wheels and pole of a carriage. Expostulations and threats were in vain. The duchess completed the work and placed on one of the towers the words:

"Quiqu'en grogne, ainsi sera: c'est mon plaisir."

Grumble who will,
So shall it be,
As pleases me.

"Quiqu'en Grogne" Tower. — Château of St. Malo.

CHAPTER II

THE FATHER OF THE DUCHESS ANNE, THE LAST DUKE OF BRITTANY

In our quest for the Duchess Anne we want to know something of her father, Francis II, the last duke of Brittany. He was the son of Richard, count of Etampes, the grandson of John IV, the conqueror, who was the Englishman, John of Montfort.

At the age of twenty-three Francis II came to the dukedom, not through his father, but through his uncle, Arthur of Brittany, who had no children. February 3, 1458, with his widowed mother, Marguerite of Orléans, Francis journeyed to Rennes for his coronation. Clad in deep mourning, as was the custom, he entered the city by the Porte Mordelaise, and, on his knees, humbly demanded the keys of the town. The bishop then opened the gate and led the way to the cathedral, where the ceremony was performed. The crown placed upon the head

of Francis was a closed one, like that of a king, and not the open circle of the French dukes. At that time Rennes was much smaller than it is to-day, and had narrow, winding streets, with houses almost meeting at the top. We passed under the old arch which the dukes once entered, but the narrow, out-of-the-way street and the arch itself, which we stopped to photograph, is now a tenement for the poor and no longer suggests pomp, power, or splendor.

As the duke began his reign two years before that of Louis XI, he saw three sovereigns on the throne of France,—Charles VII, Louis XI, and Charles VIII. About three weeks after he was crowned Francis presented himself before Charles VII, king of France. As the duke did not make obeisance nor take off his arms and girdle, the master of ceremonies said, "Lord of Brittany, you must pay homage to your king and sovereign lord and promise to him faith and loyalty." Standing erect with his sword at his side, the duke replied, "Sir, such homage as my predecessors have rendered I make likewise." This meant that the duke held his power from God and not from the king, for Brittany was not a fief of the crown, like the

other duchies, and the duke's subjects recognized him as their sovereign lord and only an ally of the king. Brittany was bound to furnish neither troops nor money nor send representatives to the government of France, but coined her own money, spoke her own language, founded her own churches, administered her own abbeys, and, while many Bretons finished their education at Paris and Angers, Brittany had her own schools. When Brittany sent ambassadors to the king the old dukes never gave assistance without a statement, "that it was done as a favor and did not establish a precedent." Even the Pope recognized the independence of Brittany by sending a separate bull to the duke every time he sent one to the king. For their part in the conquest of England and in the crusades the Bretons received as a reward the dukedom of Richmont.

After Francis II had paid his respects to Charles VII he made Nantes his capital and built additions to the château, such as the façade with four towers,[1] three of which are now standing. The princely apartments in the

[1] To the left, *Les Tours du Pied de Biche et des Espagnols;* to the right, *Les Tours de la Boulangerie et des Jacobins.*

château of Nantes were furnished with the luxury of the fifteenth century. There were, in profusion, vessels of gold and silver, jewels, tapestries from Flanders and the Levant with scenes from holy and profane history, and precious goods like silks, velvet, and cloth of gold. The duke's room was ornamented with rich armor, bearing the escutcheons of Brittany, in the midst of which were the black ermine points. The tapestries in the room were made at Vitré and Rennes by Italian workmen that the duke had brought over to develop industry in his duchy. There was a massive writing-table loaded with parchments where the duke did his writing. As Sébillot[1] writes: "Seated before the table, he looked very distinguished; his face was refined, his eyes light, and gray hair fell over his shoulders, almost hiding his ears." Anne's mother, the beautiful and gracious Marguerite de Foix, was the second wife[2] of the duke and in every way an ideal duchess. They were married in 1471 and had two daughters, our Anne and her sister, Isabeau.

[1] Paul-Yves Sébillot, "Le Dernier Duc de Bretagne."

[2] His first wife was his oldest cousin, Marguerite de Bretagne. There was one son, count of Montfort, who lived only a short time.

Besides being a brave leader of the Breton army Francis was a loving father, and was devoted to these two daughters, who returned his affection. In times of danger he guarded them carefully, keeping them with him when he could, or conveying them to a place of safety under proper guardianship. In his private life and on state occasions he displayed great pomp and ceremony, particularly when he assembled the States General. Lobineau's description of one of these occasions at Vannes in 1462 shows not only the magnificence indulged in by the duke, his pretensions to royalty, and the importance that he and his predecessors attached to his title, but also the splendor into which Anne was born. From the "château of the ermine" came a procession: archers of the duke in robes embroidered in gold and silver, with escutcheons on their spears, then musicians, officers, retainers of the duke, and other lords, with the coat-of-arms in embroidery or enamel; after them came sergeants-at-arms bearing silver maces, and the ushers of the assembly-hall with wands. These were followed by the duke's personal attendants: the first equerry, holding the duke's dress, hat, and sword enriched with gold

and precious stones; the bearer of the royal circle, garnished with precious stones, which was carried upon a rich cushion, and the son of the admiral, carrying on a staff the cap of the duke trimmed with ermine. Then came the duke himself, clad in a voluminous mantle trimmed with ermine and held by four lords, one of whom was the grand chamberlain of Brittany. The chancellor and other notables closed the procession.

Throughout his entire reign of thirty years Francis II was occupied in defending his duchy. During the time of Louis XI (1461–1483), which covered most of the duke's reign, the two were in a constant struggle. Louis, "the universal spider," was weaving a web in which to entangle the duchies and counties, and Brittany was the last to be caught.

The duke's relations with Louis XI make a fascinating chapter; for Louis, instead of warfare, the method of his ancestors, used diplomacy and intrigue in dealing with friends and foes. He recognized Francis as an enemy and kept close watch over all his actions by having spies constantly at work and by going himself

to Brittany under the pretext of making a pilgrimage.

Francis was often sent for to come to court, and there he received the greatest honor France could bestow,—the sword of the constable. But the Collar of St. Michael, an order founded by Louis, he refused because its acceptance would oblige him to serve the king.

The duke could never please the king, and in his decisions the king was always against the Bretons. Their ambassadors were continually going back and forth in vain. If in battle French and Breton soldiers were captured, the former were freed but not the latter. The story of the relations of Francis and Louis is one of delay and injustice and of the gradual undermining of the dukedom. This was accomplished largely by pensions, which won over to the court of France many of the leading Breton lords throughout the duchy. In the list it is astonishing to find the name of John, lord of Rieux, marshal of France, and his brother Peter, equerry of the duke; also Françoise de Dinan, governess of the young duchess, and four in the family of Rohan. Some of the pen-

sions were as high as twelve thousand livres, others were only two hundred and fifty livres. There is record of at least one Breton noble who refused these favors, and doubtless there were others, but it was not generally considered treasonable to accept pensions, as they were given for service rendered.

When a league called the Public Good was formed against the king, Duke Francis, with Louis of Orléans and other French malcontents, joined it, and at the head of an army actually marched against Paris. But this league was soon broken and the princes, including Francis, took an oath of fidelity to the king. This is an illustration of the conduct of Francis throughout his reign. When he dared, he openly attacked the king, but when the situation became dangerous, he protected himself by means of alliances. Once Louis XI had the malicious satisfaction of exposing the duplicity of the duke by the discovery of a secret correspondence with the king of England. The letters had been intrusted to a boy who had been bribed to give them up. When discovered, the boy confessed, was put into a sack and was drowned.

In the presence of four ambassadors the king

brought forth the letters and declared the duke's perfidy, which public exposure was the severest punishment Louis ever inflicted upon Francis.

In the first years of his reign Duke Francis was greatly beloved by his people, and there was such prosperity throughout his realm that it was said "the peasants ate out of silver dishes," but gradually Francis lost that love through the influence of two favorites, Antoinette de Maignelois, who found an asylum in his court, and Peter Landais, who provoked the nobles of Brittany by his insolence. Dominated by these two, the duke's subjects thought that he was "more occupied in pleasure than in the care of his duchy," and his treasury became so reduced that he had to put a tax on wine and cider to equip his army.

Although Landais is generally spoken of as "low born," Leroux claims that he was "the son of an honorable citizen of Vitré," a merchant in silk and linen, a member of one of the most important guilds of the city, and that he followed his father's business until he had dealings with the duke by making for him beautiful furnishings for his house. After that he became keeper of the ducal wardrobe. That he

was fairly well educated for the time, knew French well, and had business ability that helped the commerce and architecture which became so great under Francis, is proved in his letters.

It was Landais' persecution of Chauvain, the chancellor of Brittany, which brought the duke into disgrace and Landais to his death. With the permission of the duke the chancellor was arrested, his goods confiscated, and his wife and children reduced to beggary. Although the accusations against the chancellor were not proved, he was sent from one prison to another until he was so emaciated that no one could recognize him. Indignant at such vengeance, the Breton lords united against the hated favorite, demanded that Landais be given up, and had him hanged on a gallows in the village.

This punishment of Landais resulted in a temporary reconciliation of the duke with his lords. But even the death of Louis XI [1] did not

[1] Louis XI had three children who survived him—Charles, Anne, and Jeanne. Charles became Charles VIII and first husband of Anne of Brittany. Anne married Peter II seigneur de Beaujeu, and was called Anne de Beaujeu. Jeanne (deformed) married Louis d'Orléans, who became Louis XII, second husband of Anne of Brittany.

end his troubles with France, for Francis had in reality the same enemy to combat, only "the enemy was a young woman instead of an old man."

By the will of Louis XI, Anne de Beaujeu, the child whom he loved best, and who inherited his shrewdness and ability, with unusual physical charms, became regent for her brother, Charles VIII, then only thirteen years old. When the princes of the blood, headed by Louis, duke of Orléans, were unwilling to submit to the regency of a woman, both duke Francis II and Maximilian joined the opposition, although parliament confirmed her authority and did justice to her talents. But when Louis of Orléans sought refuge at the court of Francis in 1487, the Breton nobles were so displeased that they entered into a secret correspondence with the regent of France and joined the royal troops to chase him out of Brittany. They could scarcely have realized that this was betraying their own country into the hands of the enemy, but they came to their senses when the French laid siege to Nantes, and then it was that the true Breton patriotism showed itself. "From the farthest corners of the province the peas-

ants rose up to a man, armed with spades and pitchforks, and, led on with indomitable courage, came with sixty thousand men to help their duke make this heroic effort to save Brittany."

On the discovery of a treasonable correspondence between Louis, then at the court of Francis, and Commines, the celebrated historian, Anne de Beaujeu, accompanied by the king, invaded Brittany and began to ravage the country. Whenever the forces met, as they often did, the king was generally victorious.

In May, 1487, the king's army, under the command of La Trémoïlle, entered Brittany, which they were nevermore to leave. After a campaign of fourteen months the Bretons, commanded by d'Albert, aided by Lord Nouville with English soldiery, sustained a terrible defeat on July 27, 1488, in the battle of St. Aubin-du-Cormier. Among the prisoners of war were the duke of Orléans, leader of the French division, and the prince of Orange, nephew and favorite of Francis II. For nearly three years Louis was a prisoner at Bourges, shut up in an iron cage, until at last Charles set him free. Louis, overjoyed, fell on his knees weeping before the king, who then gave him the greatest

mark of friendship, naming him governor of Normandy.

This defeat of the Bretons spread terror throughout the duchy and forced the duke to sign the disgraceful treaty of Sablé, a powerful link in the chain which afterward bound Anne. By this treaty the duke gave up four cities [1] to Charles; promised to send out of Brittany those foreigners who had made war on the king, which was practically to give up any alliance with England; never to receive the king's enemies; and to marry his daughters only with the consent of the king of France. It is easy to see what a factor this was in Anne's marriage later with Charles VIII, and how with this treaty disappeared the precautions that Francis had taken for years against France. Having only two youthful daughters to inherit the duchy, he had neglected nothing to secure the ducal crown. Not ignorant that the king of France and several barons of Brittany made pretensions to this heritage, he had, since 1485, made his nobles,[2] ecclesiastics, and common people swear upon the holy sacrament and the

[1] Fougères, Dinan, St. Aubin, and St. Malo.

[2] Among these was Baron d'Avaugour, the son of Antoinette de Maignelois, the "natural brother" of Anne.

most sacred relics not to recognize any sovereign except his two daughters, Anne and Isabeau. With the same thought in mind he betrothed Anne to the son of the king of England. But in spite of all he could do, Francis must have felt a power stronger than his closing about his duchy.

Three weeks after the defeat of St. Aubin, Duke Francis was thrown from his horse and received an injury from which he never recovered. He died, broken-hearted by his losses and overwhelmed by his misfortunes, September 9, 1488, at the age of fifty-three in the château of Gazoire at Couéron on the right bank of the Loire. His will contained one touching clause: "I commend my soul to God and implore the intercession of the holy Virgin Mary, the saints and the angels in Paradise, and particularly of St. Francis, whose name I bear." He charged "all on his side, to supplicate and requite the king," which greatly touched Charles VIII.

To see the tomb erected by Anne for her father and mother, we went to the cathedral at Nantes, which was begun in the middle of the eleventh century and is not yet finished. Its

Tomb erected by Anne to her Father and Mother. Cathedral of Nantes.

enormous pillars and its great doors richly ornamented first attracted our attention; then the interior, which has a lofty nave and beautiful arches separating the aisles. While we were in the cathedral the funeral of a priest was taking place. The body, reposing on a catafalque, was draped in black, with tapers at the head and feet. The procession consisted of priests, relatives, and friends who seemed to be sincere mourners. The service was orderly and solemn, the congregation uniting in prayer and reading.

After the service we were shown about by a verger, clad in gorgeous red robes that might have graced a cardinal. At the tomb of Anne's parents we lingered long, with a desire to take a photograph, but the height of the monument proved such an obstacle that the verger came forward to assist us. Evidently he appreciated our unusual interest, for finally, to our great surprise, he helped our photographer mount to the top of a confessional, that she might have the right angle for her camera.

On the top of the monument are two recumbent statues of Anne's father and mother, exquisitely sculptured and lying on an immense

slab of black marble. The faces of both are beautiful. At the head is the figure of a lion and at the feet a greyhound; at the four corners are life-size allegorical statues representing Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence, and Justice; the latter is said to be the portrait of Anne herself. Around the sides are representations of Louis, Charlemagne, and the twelve Apostles in white marble, and beneath them several monks in black and white. On a brass plate at the head of the tomb is this inscription:

"Tombeau de François Deux, Dernier Duc de Bretagne, mort à Couéron le 9 Septembre 1488; de Marguerite de Bretagne, Sa Première Femme, et de Marguerite de Foix, Sa Seconde Femme. Les Restes d'Arthur, Troisième Duc de Bretagne, Comte de Richmont, Connétable de France, mort à Nantes le 26 Décembre 1458, y'ont été déposés le 28 Août 1817."

During the French Revolution the tomb was rifled of its contents but was saved from destruction by some monks, who took it to pieces and buried it. It was erected again in 1817. The sculptor was Michel Colomb, and the tomb is often called "the finest monument of the Middle Ages."

In spite of his weakness, and in spite of what the French call "his treason against France," Francis II was a valiant prince. Living at an epoch between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, he was always on the side of progress; encouraged commerce and industry; obtained from Pope Sixtus authority to build a college at Nantes and permission to trade in Turkey and other infidel countries; called from Italy workers in silk; opened tapestry factories at Rennes and Nantes; built ships to trade with England, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Spain, and even the Levant; was a patron of art, then in its beginning; collected a large library, which Anne inherited; and made agriculture so flourishing that Brittany raised more wheat than she needed.

Although the story of Duke Francis is not so dramatic as that of Montezuma of Mexico or of Boabdil of Granada, it practically brings us to the end of an old and powerful sovereignty, for with the reign of Francis II perished the last duke of Brittany, and the time drew nigh when the feudal system was to give place to royal authority. Had a son succeeded

Francis, it is doubtful if the reign could have been prolonged, for Brittany had always been the desire of many countries, and France, as the most natural owner, would have secured it sooner or later.

Window of the Room where Anne was Born.
Château of Nantes.

CHAPTER III

BIRTH AND YOUTH OF ANNE OF BRITTANY

To visit Anne's birthplace, we made the trip from St. Malo to Nantes, stopping off for dinner at Redon, a city prominent in Anne's time and preserving her name in a square called *La Place de la Duchesse Anne.* On the way we saw a train of almost innumerable cars crowded with men and women, many of them priests and nuns, on the way to St. Jean du Doigt, where Anne went more than once, just as they were now going, on a pilgrimage.

It was in the addition built by Francis, with its delicately sculptured windows and balconies, beautiful towers, and magnificent apartments, that she first saw light and where she spent most of her childhood.

Naturally the place of greatest interest to us in Nantes was this fortress-château, where, on January 26, 1476, at half-past five in the morning, the Duchess Anne, called Anne de Dreux, was born. After the death of her father the

duchess desired to complete his work, and it is to her that we owe the *Grand Logis* and the famous Horseshoe Tower. As the castle, when we were there, was used for barracks and Anne's chamber was occupied by an officer, we were not permitted to enter, but had to be content with a photograph of its window, which looked upon the courtyard.

Although Francis desired a son and heir, he was so pleased with his girl baby that he carried her to the roof, where the people below could see him and shout their congratulations. Little did he dream that he was bearing in his arms a child destined to be "twice queen of France"!

To serve as nurse for the royal baby, the wife of Jean Eon was chosen in Rennes, over a hundred miles away. Very early Anne's education was intrusted to one of the greatest ladies of the duchy, Françoise de Dinan, of the house of d'Albert, dame of Chateaubriand and of Laval. The house of Laval included, among its alliances, several crowned heads, and claimed precedence over the house of Rohan, one of the greatest in the land.

Françoise de Dinan had had a sad romance.

HORSESHOE TOWER.—CHÂTEAU OF NANTES.

From infancy she had been betrothed to the count of Laval, but at the death of her father, when she was only eight years old, she was forcibly carried off by Gilles de Bretagne, who afterward neglected his young wife. Gilles was the brother of Duke Francis and the third son of John V. He had been reared in England, and his enemies used forged letters to accuse him of treason with the English. Dragged from prison to prison, he was saved from starvation by a woman who heard his piteous cry, "*Du pain, pour l'amour de Dieu,*" and gave him daily a loaf of black bread while his life lasted. He was suffocated between mattresses by his jailers. Then Françoise, refusing the duke of Brittany, who wanted to marry her, married the aged count of Laval, the father of her betrothed, and bore him three sons.

By her intelligence Françoise was worthy of the eminent position which she was to occupy as the tutor of Anne. She neglected nothing, not even the study of Greek and Latin, to render as complete as possible the education of the future duchess. As books in Hebrew and Italian were found in Anne's library, it may be supposed that she knew something of these

languages also. So ably was her education directed that when only nine years old Anne assisted at the farces given at Nantes by three companies of the *Gallands Sans Soucy,* to whom she gave especial patronage. Even at this time she was an accomplished princess, and Louis of Orléans was astonished at her charms and precocity. Three years later she was proficient enough in composition and writing to send to Maximilian of Austria an account of the battle of St. Aubin-du-Cormier and of other events in Brittany. Later in life she composed verses and sonnets and wrote letters in Latin to her second husband, King Louis XII. Her training could not have been confined to books, for she was proficient in the management of her household, skilled in embroidery, and clever in the details of her wardrobe. To the latter she must have given personal supervision, as she invented a headdress for herself,—a small, round, velvet cap with a turned-up brim edged with gold and pearls, and with a long floating veil of Italian tissue attached to it by a diamond brooch. In her fondness for out-of-door life Anne foreshadowed the modern woman, for she was an expert on horseback and the chosen

partner of King Charles in his games of tennis. Her love of flowers, well shown in her garden at Blois, where she had seven hundred different species, implies an intimate relation with nature. Even insects interested her, for when her beloved flowers and plants are beautifully represented in her "Book of Hours," moths, caterpillars, and brilliantly colored bugs are prominent in the illustrations.

To the question of the marriage of Anne the most solicitous thought was given, for this was of the greatest importance to her father and to the duchy. So numerous were her suitors that it was said "her father's policy was to make himself five or six sons-in-law by means of one daughter." At the age of five the duke had her betrothed to Edward, son of Edward IV of England, but the assassination of this prince by his uncle frustrated the hope of an English alliance.

Early in Anne's youth began that storm and stress, the loss and bereavement, that shadowed her short but eventful life. In her ninth year she met with her first great sorrow in the death of her saintly mother, Marguerite de Foix, who died after a brief illness. Little is recorded

of her except her physical beauty and loveliness of character, her high birth, and her devotion to her daughters, who, young as they were, mourned her deeply. After the loss of his wife the duke was even more attentive to his little girls and provided wisely for them.

Three years later Francis died, and then, in two years, Anne's next of kin, her sister Isabeau, passed away at Rennes, August, 1490, at the close of the siege of that city.

We can but think how much comfort the companionship of a sister so near her own age might have been, and how lonely and bereft the duchess must have felt when this sister was taken from her. Although Isabeau was not quite twelve years old, her hand had already been sought by Philip, the son of Maximilian, by a son of Rohan, and by a son of Alain. Anne herself favored for her sister the alliance with Philip. It is interesting to note how often in her life Anne showed this preference for marriage with the house of Austria. First for her sister, then for herself, and, lastly, for both her daughters, Claude and Renée. But this wish was never destined to be fulfilled by any permanent relation. In fact, as we look over

the life of the duchess, we fail to see that her hopes or plans were ever realized. Her strongest desire must have been to rule her own duchy, but she could do that only by joining it to France, the country she did not love. Her natural wish for a son to succeed her was doomed again and again to disappointment. Yet all this battering against the strong fortress of her indomitable character never weakened its strength during her whole turbulent life.

When Anne was eight years old, Louis, who was destined to be her second husband, paid his first visit to the duke at Nantes, and two years later, while plotting against the queen-regent of France, Anne de Beaujeu, he sought refuge there with four hundred lancers. A report that he aspired to the hand of the duchess became so general that he made a public declaration "that his visits were solely for business with her father." But many believe that their love began at this time, and it is easy to weave a web of romance around this meeting of the young people. Surely Duke Francis gave him a right royal reception; tapestries were hung from every window, oriental rugs were spread in the courtyard; gallant knights, music, and a

great feast greeted this exile from the French kingdom. Francis himself, in ducal robes, received with the Lady Anne, who wore a quaint Breton cap and a rich gown whose train was heavy with gold embroidery.

"Gladly did Louis tarry here in this splendid castle, but, while the nobles planned war, Louis was content to sit in my lady's bower and hold her skeins of silk. Let us hide behind the tapestries and listen to them; 'Methinks,' said the Duchess Anne, 'you have wrongly chosen your emblem,—that of the porcupine with quills outspread,—since none of the quills fly when you are insulted.'

"Flushing furiously, Louis answered: 'And your emblem, my lady; why have you chosen the ermine which you flaunt so on every occasion? Do you not know that only the queens of our country wear that?'

" 'Never shall I wed any but a king; so have I vowed to myself,' retorted the duchess.

" 'If that be the case, I go away, to return only when I can offer to the Duchess Anne the kingdom of France.' "

In after years, when they were king and queen, the memory of this early attachment

must have strengthened the tie between them.

Among the thrilling events of this period which must have lived in the memory of Anne, was the uprising against Landais. At a time when the duke's thoughts were occupied with a proposed attack upon the French at Ancenis, suddenly, without the least warning, a company of armed men swarmed about the castle of Nantes and clamored for vengeance upon the hated favorite. Francis, astonished and bewildered as to the meaning of the demonstration, sent one of his ambassadors, his wife's brother, to address the mob. Nearly smothered by the crowd, and unable to send his voice above the cries of "Landais! Landais! down with Landais!" the Count de Foix returned to the duke, saying: "Sir, I swear to you, I would rather be the head of a million of wild boars than of your Bretons. You must give up your treasurer or there is no safety for you or your daughters." Although forced to yield to such importunity, the duke did not lose his dignity nor judgment, for, as he delivered his victim over to the pursuers, Francis commanded that "a trial should be conducted with the strictest justice." During this trial guards were placed

about the castle and all communication with the outside prevented. For once in her life, Anne went through the experience of being a prisoner, even though the prison was her father's own fortress.

At the age of eleven the stirring events of war came into Anne's life, when eight thousand French entered Nantes, where she was dwelling with her father, and besieged the castle, with the real object of subduing Brittany, although their declared purpose was to punish Francis for promising Anne to Maximilian and for conspiring with the discontented French nobles. With his usual care for his daughters, the duke had them and the women of the household removed for safety to the *Hôtel de la Bouvardière,* a house built by Landais and still standing. They went none too soon, for after they left, a stray shot from artillery posted on the heights penetrated the duke's room. At this time Anne must have been proud of the loyalty of the Bretons to her father, for it is stated that even the country people hastened to his assistance, and "that the throng was so great that, like the army of Xerxes, in passing a small river, they drank it dry."

Duchess Anne's Birthplace. Château of Nantes.

Another striking episode in Anne's youth is the siege of Gwengamp, when the duke was beset by the French army and betrayed by his own nobles, especially by the Rohans. These latter were so hated for their disloyalty that a proverb arose, "He eats at the manger like Rohan," meaning at the table of the king of France. One of this family tried to persuade the people of Gwengamp to espouse the interests of the king on the ground that it was for the advantage of the duchess, but they refused to act under any orders except those of the duchess herself. The incident of Gwengamp has been written into a poem, not quite accurate as to details, as Anne was not herself present in the citadel, but stirring and refreshing for its tone of patriotism.

THE SIEGE OF GWENGAMP

(Dialect of Tréguier)

"Porter, open this door! It is the sire of Rohan who is here, and twelve thousand men with him, ready to lay siege to Gwengamp."

"This door will not be opened to you or to any one without an order from the Duchess Anne, to whom this city belongs.

"Will one open these doors to the disloyal prince

who is here with twelve thousand men ready to lay siege to Gwengamp?

"My doors are strong and my walls crenellated; I should blush to listen to the enemy; the city of Gwengamp will *not* be taken.

"Even though they should pass eighteen months here, they would not take it. Load your cannon. Courage! Let us see who will rue the day.

"There are thirty bullets here, thirty shots in order to load it; powder we are not lacking, nor lead nor tin either."

As he was coming back and climbing up, he was wounded by a gunshot, by a gunshot from a soldier of the camp named Gwazgarant.

The Duchess Anne then said to the wife of the gunner: "Lord God! What are we going to do? There is your poor husband wounded!"

"Even though my husband were dead, I should know how indeed to replace him! His cannon I will load. Fire and thunder! and we shall see."

As she spoke these words the walls were shattered, the doors were forced, the city was full of soldiers.

"For you, soldiers, the pretty girls, and for me gold and silver, all the treasures of the city of Gwengamp, and, what is more, the city itself."

The Duchess Anne cast herself upon her knees, hearing him speak thus: "Our Lady of Good Aid, I beg you to come to our rescue!"

The Duchess Anne hearing him, rushed to the church and threw herself on her knees upon the cold and bare ground.

"Virgin Mary, would you like to see your house

changed into a stable, your vestry into a cellar, and your high altar into a kitchen table?"

She was still speaking when a great fear took possession of the city; a cannon shot had just been fired and nine hundred men were killed.

And there was the most frightful disorder; and the houses were rocking and all the bells were ringing, were ringing of their own accord.

"Page, my page, little page, thou art swift, sprightly, and eager; climb to the top of the flat tower in order to see who is setting the bells going.

"Thou art carrying a sword at thy side; if thou findest any one there; if thou findest some one who is ringing them, plunge thy sword into his heart!"

While going up he was cheerfully singing; upon coming down he was trembling very much. "I have climbed even to the top of the flat tower, and I have seen nobody.

"And I have seen no one save the Blessed Virgin,—the Virgin Mary and her Son; they it is who are making the bells ring."

The disloyal prince then said to his soldiers, "Let us saddle our horses and be off, and let us leave the saints their houses!"

But the other side of the picture shows splendor and gayety in the life of the duchy. In the novel, "Le Dernier Duc de Bretagne," Sébillot describes a ball which Anne attended. On that occasion the room of state in her

father's château was brilliantly lighted and full of people in gay costumes.

About nine o'clock the door opens and a herald announces, "His Highness Francis II, duke of Brittany." The groups stop circulating, and two guards, armed cap-a-pie make way for the duke, who advances to the end of the room and seats himself upon a chair reserved for him. He is a tall man of beautiful appearance and dignified bearing. He wears an expression of sympathy and at the same time of nobility that inspires respect,—respect not born of fear but for a clement prince, for the duke has made Brittany the most prosperous country of Europe. Behind him comes the Duchess Anne, not yet ten years old, who advances, holding by the hand her sister Isabeau, a little younger than herself; then follow others of the court, —ministers, the chancellor of Brittany, the grand treasurer, the presidents of the states, and the principal rulers of the city. When the duke and his suite have taken their places the music begins. After this a minstrel, accompanying himself on the harp, sings, in French, Breton, and Latin, a song in honor of the duke. This song relates how, a thousand years before,

the Bretons had come to Armorica, driven out by the Saxons of England where they had lived. Then he sings of the conquest by the Franks, whom Nominoé expelled, making the country independent, and of the history of the dukes of Brittany from Alain to the Constable of Richmond, father of the present duke, ending with a magnificent eulogy of Francis II. This is received with enthusiastic applause. Following the singing, folk-dances in costumes of the different parts of Brittany close the evening's festivities.

There were frequent changes of residence during the life of Anne's father, and the last was to the château on the Loire, where the duke died,—a move made necessary by the plague then raging at Nantes. Both Anne and Isabeau were with their father during the battle of St. Aubin, his last sickness, and at his death, events that must have made a deep and lasting impression of grief and disappointment on the duchess, although immediately succeeded by overwhelming honor and responsibility, as she passed from the protection of a loving father to the administration of a powerful duchy.

CHAPTER IV

ANNE, THE DUCHESS OF BRITTANY, 1488–1491

IMMEDIATELY after their father's death the two daughters of the duke were removed for safety to Guérande, near Rennes, and Anne was proclaimed duchess of Brittany. Even at the age of twelve Anne was prepared for her great inheritance, both by endowment and by training, and was ready for its responsibilities.

But when an embassy announced the event to Charles VIII, he claimed the guardianship of the two heiresses, in spite of the fact that the duke's will gave it to Marshal de Rieux,[1] to the count of Commines [2] and to Madame Laval, Anne's governess, with instructions to confer with Dunois.[3] Charles asserted that Anne

[1] John, Lord of Rieux, Marshal of Bretagne, born June, 1447; died February, 1518.

[2] Philip de Commines, famous historian, born 1447. His memoirs, and the histories of Louis XI, Charles VIII, and Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, are still authoritative. Philip de Commines died, 1511.

[3] Francis of Orléans, count of Dunois, was born in 1447; was Grand Chamberlain of France in 1485; and died November

ANNE, DUCHESS OF BRITTANY, AT FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE.

should not assume her title of duchess until the question of succession had been submitted to a court of arbitration. When this demand was rejected, a French army invaded Brittany with the purpose of forcing the orphan into submission.

What position could have been more difficult! Ruler over a domain that had long been coveted by all Europe, threatened on every side, by the French king and his army that already held four of her cities, bound by a treaty that had sent away the English allies, deserted by many of her nobles, who were won over to the service of France, embarrassed by a treasury so depleted that there was not enough money to pay her soldiers, driven from her capital by the plague and harassed by many unacceptable suitors, what was the young maid to do?

Such a situation would have taxed the wisdom and fortitude of a strong and experienced statesman, but the duchess proved equal to the occasion, and both her friends and foes saw that, "instead of a weak young girl, they had to deal with a determined, brave, and indomi-

25, 1491. He was a son of the celebrated Bastard of Orléans, distinguished in the wars against the English in the time of Joan of Arc.

table woman." All the strong points of her character showed themselves at this early age. This seemed such a marvel that it is doubtless explained in part by the discipline of those troublous times under which men and women came very early to mature judgment and responsibility.

When the duchess saw that, in spite of the treaty of Sablé, Anne de Beaujeu, the regent, and her brother Charles, the king of France, were determined to conquer Brittany, she acted promptly and decisively. To be sure of the support of her government she confirmed Montauban as chancellor and de Rieux as marshal. She assembled immediately the States General, and by her leadership impressed her ministers with her executive ability. To raise money she pawned some of her jewels, her communion service, gilt flagons in Venetian work, and two large *bonbonnières* of Milan work, both ornamented with enamel. She made a fresh coinage of leather tipped with silver, which was called "black money" and had been in use before her time. To secure aid, she went, as any of her predecessors would have done, to England. As a result of her appeal Henry VII

formed a league with the rival powers, Maximilian of Austria and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and in 1489 their forces landed on the coast of Brittany.

Then the marriage of Anne became a question of European politics. Brittany, the last of the great fiefs, should it be united to France? England, Spain, and Austria were steadily growing more powerful and trying to absorb the provinces that now belonged to France.

Anne was determined to keep her duchy independent, and in this effort her suitors greatly complicated her difficulties. Among the claimants for her hand were the duke of Richmond; John, the prince of Spain; Louis, duke of Orléans; Maximilian, king of the Romans; Charles VIII, king of France; and Breton nobles, who urged their suit on the ground that "no foreign alliance would guarantee the independence of their country."

Chief among these latter were three, John de Châlons, prince of Orange, the viscount de Rohan, and Alain d'Albert. The first was a cousin of Anne—the son of a sister of Duke Francis—who later yielded in favor of Maximilian. The second claimed direct descent

from the first king of Brittany, and proposed the marriage of his two sons, one with Anne and the other with Isabeau. Unfortunately for Rohan he had been for many years an officer in the French army and his plea was set aside. The third suitor was one of the most powerful lords of France, a Breton on his mother's side, possessor of important fiefs and commander of a hundred lancers. His suit was urged warmly by his sister, Anne's governess, and also by Rieux, who declared "that of the suitors, he was the most capable of saving Brittany." But to the duchess he was impossible, for d'Albert was nearly fifty years old, a widower with eight children, and his face was so disagreeable and his manner so fierce that the mere sight of him frightened her and made her tremble. Anne declared publicly "that she would never consent to marry Alain." When the latter heard this, he went into a fit of temper and sought to win her by force; but declaring that she would "rather die a nun" than yield, Anne, like another Joan of Arc, bravely mounted a horse and, at the head of her archers, put the troops of her suitor to flight. Meanwhile Dunois and Chancellor Montauban, who sincerely loved the

duchess, would not see her sacrificed, and they, with the prince of Orange and the duke of Orléans, undertook to arrange a marriage with Maximilian, Anne's own choice, for of all the princes of Europe she believed him to be the best friend of Brittany. Besides, had she not been promised to him by her father? This fact, although often overlooked, must have had great weight with Anne.

Finally the duchess decided that, in order to make herself strong against France, she would marry the emperor.[1] He was twenty-nine years old, gigantic in stature and renowned in war; a widower, with a son Philip and a daughter Marguerite. In literary culture Maximilian surpassed his contemporaries, and this may have had some influence with the duchess, as she ever appreciated learning. The wedding, which took place in 1490, was a marriage by proxy. Since Maximilian could not come, he sent his emissary, Polhain, count of Nassau, in his place, and the ceremony was conducted in

[1] Maximilian of Austria, son of Frederick III and Eleanor of Portugal, born March 22, 1459; crowned king of the Romans, April 9, 1486; married Mary of Burgundy, August 20, 1477, and Bianca Maria, widow of Philibert, duke of Savoy, in 1499; died January 12, 1519.

the strange German fashion. The young princess, dressed as a bride,[1] received in bed the aged ambassador, who, in the presence of three envoys, of her governess, and other of the household, held in his hand the procuration of the emperor, and introduced one leg, bared to the knee, into the bridal couch, while the other leg remained booted and spurred.

When the details of the ceremony were known they became a subject of mirth and mockery in both France and Brittany. In truth this marriage was really a violation of the last treaty with France, the treaty of Verger, which stipulated "that Anne was not to marry without the consent of the king," but Brittany claimed that it was permitted by another treaty, the treaty of Ulm.

The terms of this marriage-contract were:

1. If the king of the Romans died without heir, the duchess would be free to return to Brittany.

2. If the duchess died without heir, Maximilian should make no claims on the duchy and should withdraw his troops.

[1] A custom that later was popular with the noble ladies of France.

3. Maximilian should levy no taxes without the consent of the States General.

4. The commanders should always be natives of Brittany.

5. The first child should be brought up in Brittany.

6. The king should not make war except by consent of the Bretons.

A series of fêtes and banquets followed the wedding, and public acts were rendered in the names of Maximilian and Anne, "king and queen of the Romans, duke and duchess of Brittany."

As soon as Sire d'Albert learned of the marriage he was furious, and speedily revenged himself by taking possession of the jewels of the duchess and by betraying the castle of Nantes into the hands of King Charles, who came from Tours to receive in person the submission of the castle and to place a company of one thousand foot-soldiers on guard.

Then the warlike spirit of the duchess was aroused, and she determined to direct affairs herself with such forces as she could muster; but, without the *cheval noir* [1] of later days, mo-

[1] Locomotive.

bilization was a difficult matter, and weeks were required to get together a few thousand men. As it was, the troops she could depend upon were mainly English, German, and Spanish archers, the latter sent by Maximilian to aid her, —mercenary troops unable to cope with the disciplined army of France. With Marshal de Rieux in command, and with a few Breton barons who remained faithful, her natural brother among them, she determined to contend against the French, a task that only the intrepidity of youth could have failed to see was impossible.

While aid from England was delayed, much to the disappointment of the English people, who had great sympathy for the duchess, she fled to Redon, but becoming anxious to depart, as it was not fortified, she sent for de Rieux and Commines to conduct her to Nantes. Instead of obeying, they remained with d'Albert, the rejected suitor. Whereupon Anne, fearless and indignant, mounted her own horse, and, behind the chancellor,[1] with a guard of ten Bretons only, rode to a little town within three

[1] It was the custom of noble ladies not to ride alone, but to mount behind their husbands or officials.

leagues of the capital where she was met by her loyal Dunois and his troops. The duchess sent forward a herald to request that the gates be opened to her, only to receive the reply that "she herself was free to enter with her private guard and household but Dunois and Montauban must remain outside." On her refusal to do this, d'Albert, de Rieux, and Commines marched out of the town with an army to compel her to enter alone. Even then the duchess showed no fear, but rode bravely forward while Dunois ordered her troops to be drawn up in line of battle. Her own people, however, would not tolerate such indignity as an armed force against their duchess. A parley ensued and a proposition was made that Anne enter by "the side gate" into the castle, but she impetuously declared "she would enter only as a duchess and sovereign."

How tragic it seems, in view of the duke's labors in Nantes and his pride in making it one of the finest cities in Europe, that so soon after his death it should refuse admission to his two daughters, one of them the ruler of his hereditary domain!

Very soon the duchess realized that there was

a plan on the part of de Rieux and d'Albert to get her into their power, so she sent a messenger to the people of Nantes, asking for a conference. They appointed deputies, but de Rieux restrained them, and for two weeks Anne was kept in the suburbs. At the end of that time it seemed best to depart, and she proceeded toward Vannes, followed by de Rieux and his men. When they overtook her, instead of fleeing, she rode boldly up to the marshal, reproached him for his disloyalty, and bade him go. Her great courage so awed the soldiers that they allowed her to continue her journey.

Receiving an invitation from the citizens of Rennes to honor them with her presence, she gladly accepted, and entered that city with the pomp and enthusiasm due her rank, showered with gifts, and offered every possible protection. With her in Rennes were the prince of Orange, whom she replaced in command, Marshal Polhain, and a few faithful barons. There were now three parties in Brittany,—that of the duchess with Dunois and Montauban, that of de Rieux and d'Albert, and that of King Charles. Had it not been for this civil strife which lasted

eight months, the duchess would probably have led an army against France.

Although de Rieux seemed to be a traitor, and although the duchess so informed England, he was not one in reality, for his real object in wishing her to marry d'Albert was to keep her from marrying the French king, whom he justly suspected her friends were inclined to favor.

That the duchess understood all this later is proved by the fact that Marshal de Rieux was long in her service, for in 1502, in spite of his age, he commanded the army of her husband, Louis XII, in Languedoc. At that time, during a severe illness, as de Rieux did not leave his post, Anne sent him a letter in her own hand beginning:

"My Cousin:

"The king writes for you to come at once because of your illness. Here you can rest and gain faster, and he assures you that he is well content with you."

While the duchess was still at Rennes, about the time of the feast of All Saints, 1491, that city was besieged by a mighty army under the leadership of the king.

During the first days of the siege a feat of chivalry took place which made a pleasant interlude. De Foix, mounted like St. George, approached Rennes and asked to break a lance before the ladies. A Breton gentleman duly presented himself for the combat, and the duchess, with a numerous escort, witnessed the scene from a platform erected over the *fossé* surrounding the village, and at its close served wine and spices to the victor.

Charles prosecuted the siege with much vigor, and the duchess, shut up in Rennes, shared its privations, seeing food and money diminishing day by day and sorrowing over the death of her sister. One morning the beating of the great drums of her German soldiers, followed by a demand, in which the English joined, for a week's pay in advance, sounded a mournful knell and brought matters to a crisis. Charles, ready to seize his opportunity, presented terms to the duchess: a hundred thousand crowns a year and her choice of three husbands,[1] on condition that she would give up the government of Brittany and cease to live either in Rennes or

[1] Louis of Luxembourg, the duke of Nemours, and the count of Angoulême.

Nantes. To the offer of money she disdained to make reply, but to that of matrimony answered, "I am already married to the king of the Romans." Seeing her firm in her resolution, the French king pressed her still harder by bribing her garrison to leave Rennes and by offering her a safe-conduct for her husband, Maximilian. Her counselors thought that these terms were merciless to her and dangerous to Brittany, and that it was their duty to influence the duchess to yield to her powerful enemy.

To save their country and to steer its ruler through the Scylla and Charybdis by which she was hemmed in, they clearly saw only one way, and that was the marriage of the two rival powers, of whom only the duchess needed to be won over. The king's intentions were well understood, and the fact that neither of the parties was free did not present any great obstacle in those days when "the good of the state" easily made or annulled a marriage. That of Anne to Maximilian could be set aside, as husband and wife had never even seen each other; that of Marguerite to Charles was only a be-

trothal, although she had long been regarded as the future queen of France.

The only real drawback was the strong will of the duchess and her bitter feeling against her foe. For three years his army had devastated her country, and it must be remembered, too, that far back in the blood of her ancestors was the natural antipathy to an alliance with France. Imagine the stormy interviews that must have taken place when Rieux, Dunois, Commines, and others argued with this resolute woman upon this subject.

Finally her governess brought her powers of persuasion to bear upon the captive, for captive she was to an unyielding situation. With a woman's skill Françoise called in the most powerful advocate, the Church, to labor with her mistress. Anne's confessor, through his earnestness, was able at last to persuade her that it was "the will of God" that she should "save the duchy" by the sacrifice of herself. Then and then only did she yield. But there was nothing ignoble in her defeat, for of deep religious feelings and loyalty to duty we have no more striking illustration in the annals of history.

To save the royal pair from excommunication a special dispensation was ordered to confirm the union, and when the Pope gave his sanction he exacted from them a fund for the marriage of poor maidens.

Of Anne's surrender and humiliation, if there were any such feeling in her heart, Charles took no advantage. With true French courtesy and consideration, he managed his part in the delicate affair. A pilgrimage to the chapel of Notre-Dame brought him near the duchess; an interview was naturally obtained, and the success of it was announced a few days later by the betrothal of the two in the cathedral at Rennes.

MARGUERITE OF AUSTRIA

Charles, at the age of twelve, and Marguerite, the little three-year-old daughter of Maximilian, solemnized the ceremony of betrothal with great pomp in the cathedral at Amboise, July, 1483. The dauphin, clad in a robe of white damask lined with black velvet, espoused the little princess, also in white, by the giving of a ring and joining of hands. Mass was said and the little king thanked those present for receiving Mar-

guerite. After the death of Louis XI she was considered queen and treated with the honors due her rank. She was sometimes called "the little mistletoe queen," as her emblem was the mistletoe. When the Pope gave his dispensation for the marriage of Charles and Anne, and Marguerite was returned to her father with her dowry, Anne symbolized this event by taking the mistletoe and adding to it a caterpillar devouring the leaves, thus representing the relation of herself to the defrauded princess. This emblem often appears in Anne's Book of Hours. But the queen, by gifts of jewels, money, and an embroidered cap, kindly remembered Marguerite as she set out on her journey accompanied by the French lords who had had the care of the maid during her twelve years in France, and who had become strongly attached to her. She was outwardly calm, but she must have carried hard feelings in her heart for those who had usurped her place. It is gratifying, however, to know that there was no lasting estrangement between Marguerite and Anne de Bretagne, for in after years there were many exchanges of courtesies between the two.

Marguerite's life was eventful and full of

sorrow and responsibility. April 10, 1497, she married Prince John, son of Ferdinand and Isabella, the hope of Spain, but he lived only six months after the marriage. Four years later she became the wife of Philibert, duke of Savoy, who died after three happy years of married life. At his death she retired from public life and in his memory built the beautiful chapel at Brou which has been called "an architectural jewel." There she lived in a palace, making a collection of art treasures, tapestries, books, and pictures. On the death of her brother, however, she was obliged to come out of her retirement and assume the guardianship of his family of five children, one of whom was afterwards the great emperor, Charles. From that time until her death, November 30, 1530, she was at the head of the committee of the regency of the Netherlands.

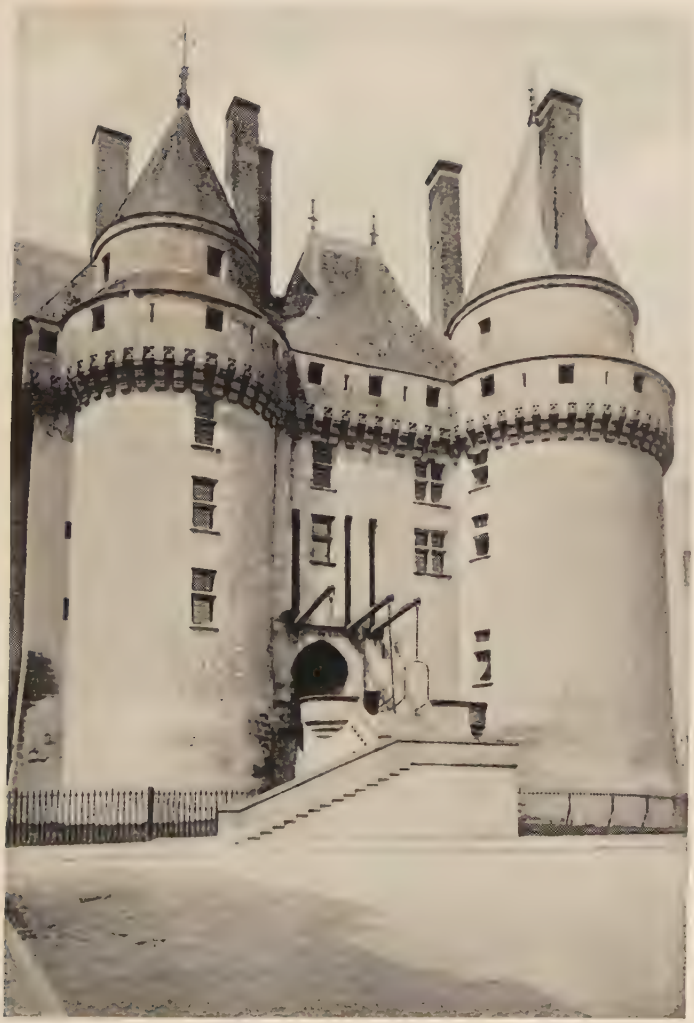
CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE OF ANNE TO CHARLES VIII

After a short ride from Tours along the peaceful river Loire, where groups of fishermen were going to their morning catch, a great stone fortress came suddenly into view, rising from the flaggings of a busy town. The drawbridge, which in most castles is useless, was, in this case, swung across the moat, and men, women, and children were filing in. This was the château of Langeais,[1] the best example in France of a fortress of mediæval days, and the château where, on December 16, 1491, the marriage of the Duchess Anne with the king of France took place.

The rooms connected with the story of Anne are the *salon des fleurs* and "Anne of Brittany's room," the former so named because it has a

[1] The château of Langeais was purchased by Jacques Siegfried in 1890, restored in the most beautiful style, and presented to the Institute of France with an endowment fund that will make it a perpetual museum of the Middle Ages.



Château of Langeais.
Here Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany were married,
December 16, 1491.

frieze of beautiful flowers copied from Anne's Book of Hours. "Anne of Brittany's room," the one in which Anne's marriage to Charles VIII occurred, is the grand salon. Seven large tapestries out of the lives of nine heroes, Gothic choir-stalls, rich rugs, and chairs are reminders of the past, while tables with books and magazines, a modern piano, and evidences of home comforts suggest a living-room of the present time.

From the third floor of the castle we passed outside on to "The Rounds," a stone walk fourteen feet long, where we saw the large openings called machicolations, down which the besieged in feudal times dropped stones, boiling oil, or molten lead upon the attacking soldiers.

The general impression of the château was one of gloom, of massive furnishings, and of dark hangings, not tempting to a long sojourn or to a permanent possession. Can any one live in these old fortress-castles and be cheerful? Were the dwellers of former days ever merry in such surroundings?

Why was this château chosen for the royal marriage? It seemed remote, situated as it is

on the opposite bank of the Loire from Amboise, where the bridal couple were to live. Probably that is the very reason it *was* chosen. Anne's suitors were so numerous, and there were so many ways in which they might make trouble, that the marriage was solemnized here, in a quiet, almost secret manner, instead of in any cathedral.

With the state and luxury befitting a duchess, bringing with her an elaborate trousseau, costly furnishings, and a retinue of servitors, Anne arrived at the château of Langeais in her own carriage, which was rich with trappings of black and crimson velvet. Her traveling dress was of black satin and velvet over which she wore a cloak of black velvet trimmed with one hundred and thirty-nine skins of sable. As beds were not in common use, she had with her, for her journey, two beds, one very rich with hangings of crimson cloth embroidered with gold. For her underwear linen had been imported from Holland. To her attendants she had given costumes of velvet, that of her governess was of violet velvet, while her maids of honor had robes of tan-colored velvet or satin.

Directly after her arrival at the château of

Langeais, the signing of the marriage contract, of which there were two drafts, one in French and the other in Breton, took place in the presence of many notables [1] from both courts.

This contract was as follows:

1. If Anne were to die before Charles and their children, she ceded to him and his successors all her rights to the duchy.

2. If Charles were to die before Anne and their children, Anne retained all the rights to the duchy.

3. Anne, in case of widowhood, was not to marry any one except a king of France or the heir presumptive to the French crown.

4. All jewels and furniture of the duchess were to remain hers after the king's death.

5. The queen, if she survived her husband, should have the same settlement as he would have.

Plainly these terms were favorable to the king and hard upon the duchess, for he had

[1] On the side of France, Louis, duke of Orléans; Peter, duke of Bourbon; Charles, count of Angoulême; Guy de Rochefort, chancellor of France. On the side of Brittany, John of Châlons, prince of Orange; Philip of Montauban, chancellor of Brittany; the Sire de Coëtquen, the Sire of Guémenée, and lords of the house of Rohan.

gained not only the most desirable wife in France but also had added the richest province in Europe to his kingdom, while she, on her side, gained an amiable husband and a seat upon his throne, but yielded the control of her own duchy to him and his successors. This marriage is most noteworthy from the fact that "it brought under royal authority the last refuge of princely independence. The province which had the longest and most obstinately maintained its individuality, became fused like the rest into one great whole, the kingdom of France."

The contract signed, the bridal pair passed into the grand salon where the archbishop d'Alby conducted the ceremony. In all the pages of history is there a more interesting pair, a king of twenty-one as the bridegroom and a duchess of fifteen as the bride?

The bridegroom in long robes, to make him look as stately as possible, could not be called handsome, for he had neither a good figure nor a comely countenance; nevertheless he was a true cavalier, with a romantic nature and an amiable disposition that gave his face a kindly expression and made up to his friends for his

Room in which Anne was married to Charles VIII. Château of Langeais

physical defects. His speech was slow and hesitating, and his education had been neglected because his father, Louis XI, wished him trained only in dissimulation, and would have kept books from him altogether had it not been for his beautiful mother, Charlotte of Savoy, who taught him herself.

"The little king," as he was lovingly called, was generous, sweet, and gracious, and in Paris he was praised as a "right lusty gallant at playing tennis, hunting, and jousting."

The bride, in a dress which cost more than twenty-five thousand dollars, could not have been more charming. She wore an under robe of Holland linen and an outer robe embroidered in gold relief, trimmed with one hundred and sixty sable-skins and loosely held by a girdle of twisted gold. From the embossed designs the cloth received the name *drap-d'or-trait-enlevé,* an ell (forty-seven inches) of this cost one thousand four hundred and seventy dollars and eight ells were used for the gown. The collar of the robe was of gold and precious stones and was finished with lace. Around Anne's neck was a rosary, and on her head was a hood of satin; her bearing was majestic, and not marred

by a slight lameness caused by one leg being shorter than the other. Her face was strikingly fair, with a bright color in her cheeks, her forehead high and broad, eyes and hair dark, and features shapely. Proud as a duchess, she was also modest, as became a maid. Already she had good judgment, a generous and truthful nature, and absolute devotion to her country and to her God. St. Gelais de Montluc, who was present at the marriage, wrote of her: "She was beautiful, young, and full of graces, so that it was a pleasure to look upon her."

On leaving the château of Langeais, Anne and her husband went first to Tours and then to Paris. On the way several cities gave the new queen magnificent receptions, and a medal which still exists was struck with the name and head of Charles on one side and Anne's name and arms on the other.

Joy in France was universal, for the advantages of this union were very apparent, but in the other countries of Europe the alliance caused astonishment and resentment. The court of Austria expressed its indignation against France in a Latin dissertation. Rumor quickly spread a report that the duchess had

Medal of Charles VIII and Anne.

been abducted, but this Anne denied before an ecclestiastical commission, declaring that she had gone of her own free will to Langeais to marry Charles.

The house of Medici exclaimed, "What a power France now is!" Immediately Henry VII of England, Maxmilian of Austria, and Ferdinand II of Spain united their efforts to diminish this power, but in vain. Maximilian was hurt most, for not only did he lose his wife and a duchy, but his daughter lost her husband and a kingdom.

An old chronicler states that three circumstances connected with this marriage were very astonishing,—the fact that Charles was already betrothed, that the duchess was marrying the inveterate enemy of her house, and that Lord Dunois, who had been the chief instrument in bringing about the marriage, died of apoplexy while on horseback going to the nuptials. The superstition of the people made them believe it to be a direct judgment from Heaven, and the same interpretation was later made to account for the death of all the male children born to Anne.

February 8, 1492, the queen-duchess, as she

called herself, was crowned at St. Denis. Beautiful, young, and full of life, with her hair plaited and hanging over her shoulders, she looked like a young girl, but when seated upon a daïs in robes of white satin, she was every inch a queen. As the crown was too large and too heavy to be worn, Louis held it over her head while the benediction was pronounced. The duchess of Bourbon and several countesses stood by her side, wearing the coronets that belonged to their rank.

The next day after the coronation the duchess-queen made her solemn entry into Paris. Members of Parliament and of the other court, and the people of city and country came out in their best array to see her, and so dense a crowd was formed that the streets were packed from the church to the palace.

The Parisian residence of Anne and of Charles VIII was the *Hôtel des Tournelles,* so called from the innumerable towers with which it was adorned,—"a forest of spires," says Victor Hugo in his "Notre Dame." "Nor was any assemblage of objects in the world—not even at Chambord nor at the Alhambra—more mag-

ical, more aërial, more captivating, than the grove of spires, turrets, chimneys, weather-cocks, spiral staircases, airy lanterns, pavilions, spindle-shaped turrets, or *tournelles*, as they were then called,—all different in form, height, and position."

This palatial structure, no longer standing, was near the *Place de la Bastille* in the midst of a park, in which was the famous labyrinth of Louis XI, and, rising above it, the tower of his astrologer on the spot now occupied by the *Palais Royal.* There Louis XII, Anne's second husband, died, and here her son-in-law, Francis I, resided until the location became unsanitary and the palace far too small for his great court. Anne, like Louis XIV, never cared for Paris but always longed for the free air of Brittany and for the château on the hill at Dinan. Charles himself favored the castle of Amboise, also on a height, although he had lived a lonely childhood in the old fortress.

By her beauty, her judgment, and her firmness of character Anne impressed the French people and gained the respect as well as the love of the imperious king who had been

brought up as a sovereign from his infancy. Superb, haughty, a ruler in her own right and superior to the king in education and training, she took her place beside him not only as his queen but as the queen of France.

CHAPTER VI

ANNE, QUEEN OF CHARLES VIII

As neither the king nor queen cared to live in Paris, Charles spared no pains to make Amboise worthy of so young and beautiful a bride. Soon after his marriage he began to enlarge the château,—practically to construct a new palace, which is the one now seen by visitors. The beautiful chapel dedicated to St. Hubert, in which the marble was carved "like lace" by sculptors from Italy, was the chapel where Charles always went to pray before going to the chase. The furnishings of the royal apartments were of the richest materials in silk and cloth of gold. In the rooms belonging to the king his favorite colors, red and yellow, were used; hangings of scarlet velvet were embroidered with the initials *A* and *K* [1] in gold surmounted by a crown.

Among articles especially provided for Anne

[1] A for Anne; K for Karolus, i.e., Charles.

were two sideboards, and an oak bench and table five feet long for her dining-room; two jewel-boxes, one for herself and one for the princess of Tarento; a table for the queen's doctors, and wooden beds for her maids of honor. One item concerning the latter is interesting: "There were two beds six feet long and six feet wide," showing that single beds had not yet come into fashion.

Anne's silver numbered about sixty pieces,—plates, spoons, porringers, and cups marked with *A* and *K* and the fleur-de-lis; her linen pieces, of which there were seven or eight hundred dozen, were marked with three fleur-de-lis in yellow thread.

In the galleries of the château there was a collection of historical arms and armor. Some of the weapons dated back several centuries and had belonged to the most celebrated kings or the most famous warriors of France, such as the hatchet of Clovis, the sword of Dagobert, the dagger of Charlemagne, two hatchets of St. Louis, the sword of Philip the Handsome, that of King John, two swords of Charles VII, four swords and a dagger of Louis XI, the two swords Charles carried in the battle of For-

Château of Amboise. Residence of Charles VIII and Anne.

nova, a hatchet with three diamonds said to be that of Du Guesclin, and the armor that Joan of Arc wore at the coronation of Charles VII.

The young King Charles and his wife soon came to love each other and to look forward to a brilliant future together. During the first years after their marriage they were not parted but dwelt sometimes at Plessis-les-Tours,[1] sometimes at Amboise, both of which had been enlarged and adorned. If affairs of state obliged the king to make a journey, his wife accompanied him or joined him at some city where he tarried. Whenever she could, she went by water, which she preferred to journeying by land. Traveling in those days was hazardous and difficult and required much preparation. The king, the great lords, and the ladies went on horseback or in litters, followed by servants and a file of carts, horses, and mules. As they could not reach a hostelry every night, they carried tents for sleeping in the open, and tapestry, furniture, and domestic utensils, in case they were quartered in an empty or partly furnished château. So

[1] In Scott's "Quentin Durward" is a good description of Plessis-les-Tours when it was the residence of Louis XI.

Anne carried her own wooden bed, sheepskins containing cooking utensils, bread for herself, and water and wine in hermetically sealed flagons. Her bread and wine were renowned, and these she provided even when she was sure to receive hospitality, for she did not wish to cause too much trouble, and, besides, had to take the usual precautions customary to sovereigns of that time. The first care of Anne in Brittany after her marriage with Charles VIII was to renew the furnishings of the château of Nantes. For this purpose she had tapestries and pictures brought from the Levant, besides numerous shipments of cloth, jewels, and precious vases for her house and chapel.

Eleven months after her marriage, October 10, 1492, two days before Columbus [1] landed in America, Anne gave birth to a son at the château of Plessis, a cause of great rejoicing both in France and Brittany. Abundant provision had been made in furniture, linen, and articles of all kinds, including vessels of gold and silver

[1] On the magnificent bronze doors, designed by Rogers, in the capitol at Washington, illustrating the life of Columbus, in the panel border of sovereigns is a representation of Charles VIII of France. With him are Alexander VI, Ferdinand and Isabella, John II of Portugal, and Henry VII of England.

fashioned by a skilful goldsmith. The young mother, only sixteen years old, received the most tender care, and the father, proud and happy, wrote to the court to announce the birth. On the thirteenth, with the customary display and solemnity, the baptism of the dauphin took place. The dukes of Bourbon and of Orléans, clad in cloth of gold, were his godfathers and the queen of Sicily his godmother. The duke of Nemours carried the candle; the count of Foix, the salt dish of gold; the duke of Vendome, the ewer; the prince of Spain, the basin and the napkin; Madame l'Amirale, the holy ointment in a vase set with stones of great value; and the prince of Orange, the new-born babe. Behind the queen of Sicily marched the duchesses of Bourbon and of Orléans, and they were followed by lords and ladies of the court, archers of the guard, and officers of the house to the number of five hundred carrying torches. A member of the society called *Cordeliers,* afterward canonized under the name of François de Paule, placed the holy water upon the head of the young prince and christened him Charles Orlando.

This first-born, whose father was twenty-two

and whose mother was sixteen, became the object of most solicitous attention and was placed under the special protection of the Virgin. He was always dressed in white and covered with cloth-of-silver. One of his first gifts was a little silver whistle, fashioned by order of his mother when he was only a few months old. At the age of three he was a fine little fellow, "handsome, precocious, bold in speech, and not alarmed at those things wherewith children are usually frightened."

A letter written at this time brings us close to the parental relations and care for this son.

Moulins, September 3, 1495.

To the Governor of the Dauphin,
By the Queen.

Our friends and servitors:

We have this day received your letters and learned of the good health of our son, about which we were very glad; also we have learned of the wise counsel that you and the doctors have taken for the health and government of our son, and we have so informed His Majesty, causing a messenger to post to him for that purpose. Write frequently and give us news of him, for no greater pleasure can you do us.

Written at Moulins this Thursday, the third day of September.

Anne.

Before they had been married three years the events of war came into the life of Anne de Bretagne. For Charles, steeped in chivalry and longing to win his spurs, determined upon an invasion of Italy. He rested his claim to the duchy of Milan in northern Italy on the marriage, in 1387, of Valentine Visconti to Louis of Orléans, vassal and kinsman of the royal house; while his claims in southern Italy to the kingdom of Naples were based on the fact that René, the last of the male line of the house of Anjou ruling in Naples, had bequeathed his claims to the father of Charles, Louis XI of France. Louis did not push these claims, but Charles VIII did. In this he was aided by Ludovico of Milan, an enemy of Naples, who invited Charles to come into Italy. Such an expedition Anne, with the good sense of which she was constantly giving proof, opposed, and she was sustained by the king's sister and by the wise men about him; but their advice was of no avail, for he was completely swayed by the thought of becoming a great conqueror like the heroes of romance.

In spite of his love and admiration for the queen, he never allowed her to interfere in his

administration of public affairs. Although she was superior to him in charm of body and keenness of mind, she could not dominate him, and even in Brittany all acts bore his name; but that he intended always to deal justly with her native land has never been doubted. In 1492 he made a special ordinance for Brittany which comprehended six articles:

1. The Parliament of Brittany could appeal to the Parliament of Paris as a higher court.

2. Taxes in Brittany should be levied as by the ancient dukes.

3. Bretons should be tried, in the first instance, only by the judges of their own country.

4. The Breton marshals should have jurisdiction over matters of war only.

5. Public money should be used for the maintenance of the villages of Brittany.

6. The expenses of the courts in Brittany should be furnished by the usual receivers, on presentation of receipts.

When the king went to Lyons to prepare for the Italian expedition, the queen accompanied him and they left the boy at Amboise. Before starting out the parents took pains to write out the following instructions not only for the

safety of his person but also for the preservation of his health: A hundred men of the Scotch guard must watch constantly before the gate of the town and château; a chamberlain must always stand at the entrance of the donjon tower. If a stranger came to take lodgings in the village, his landlord must inform the captain of the Scotch Archers. Whenever the venerable François de Paule visited his lordship, he could be accompanied only by one priest, a man born in France who had never visited Naples, as Naples was supposed to be a hotbed of conspiracy. If any contagious malady necessitated the removal of the boy from Amboise, he was to be conveyed to one of the strongest châteaux in Touraine. If taken out only for an airing, he must be attended by a large number of trusty archers. Hunting in the vicinity was strictly forbidden. News was to be sent the king as often as possible, and if reënforcements were needed, the nobles and free archers of Touraine and of Berry must be in readiness.

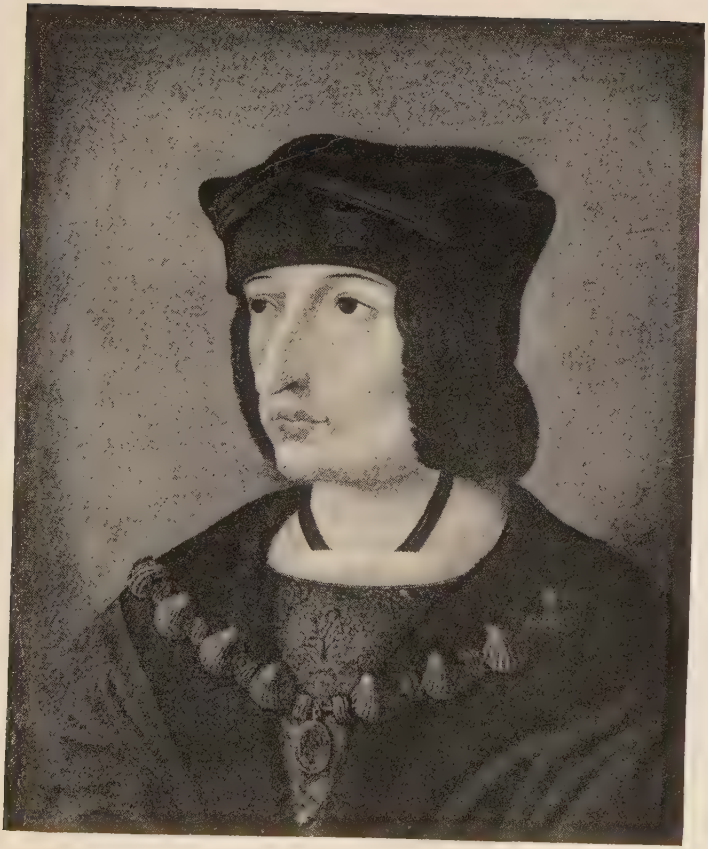
In the first days of the year 1494 the king and the duchess-queen, followed by a large and brilliant court, made a solemn entry into Lyons.

Six pages in crimson velvet led the queen's division. Behind them pranced three pairs of horses, proudly drawing the chariot in which the dainty queen so stately sat. Anne was dressed in cloth of gold with a short train trimmed with ermine and fastened with diamond buttons. Her girdle of gold cord, the *Cordelière,*[1] and her Breton silk cap were ornamented with precious stones. A long mantle of red velvet lined with ermine fell from her shoulders to the earth. The chariot itself was covered with crimson velvet trimmed with ermine, and a gold *A* embroidered upon it, thus displaying the favorite colors, red and yellow, of the king and the insignia of Anne's loved Brittany.

Following her, in a similar equipage, came her maids of honor, and behind them the mule which she usually rode, saddled with crimson satin and with trappings of white and gold. Last of all there was borne along by mules the bed of state, held in place by cords of gold.

While Charles was preparing at Lyons for

[1] Twisted cords, a symbol used by St. Francis and several religious orders. Anne adopted it for herself and for the order of women that she founded.



Charles VIII.

the Italian expedition, entertainments, under the leadership of Louis of Orléans, were numerous, and several tournaments in which the king jousted were held. Of his seven selected horses, one named Quintain had been given to him by Anne herself. With the same ceremony entry was made into other places, notably Grenoble and Moulins, the capital of Bourbonnais, where Anne gave a prisoner his liberty. At Grenoble August 23, 1494, there was great magnificence. The principal streets were hung with historical tapestries in honor of the king and queen, and the festivities lasted six days, during which the final preparations for crossing the Alps were made and chosen ambassadors were sent forward to prepare the way.

August 29, 1494, Charles attended mass, and then, after taking an affectionate leave of Anne of Brittany, mounted his horse and set out for Italy. Anne must have been pleased to see in the very forefront of the army as it marched away, commanded by Louis, prince of the blood, many of her countrymen,—her cousin Gié, Rohan, Rieux, and several Breton cavaliers who were to do valiant deeds in the war. Among the troops were six thousand Breton archers,

and, at the king's request, Brittany had furnished two large vessels to carry the ammunition of the expedition. But as it was the first time the king had left her, Anne's heart was troubled by sorrow in parting from her dear husband and by fears for his safety. Believing him to be one of the greatest kings in the world, she felt that he would rush into danger and was departing upon a most adventurous expedition. In her zeal as a Breton and a Christian she had resort to prayers and alms. To the principal churches of Brittany, Paris, and Lyons she made valuable gifts for prayers and masses; to the royal abbey of St. Denis two candles weighing twenty pounds each, to burn before the shrine of the patron saint; to the convent of *Notre Dame des Anges* at Lyons a large clock; to the brotherhood Minimes, established by François de Paule at Tours, a goodly sum of money. She did not spare herself, but attended mass every day, asking God to protect the king and his army. Her gifts, more abundant than ever, were not denied to any who asked her aid. Always generous, she increased her almsgiving, especially to wounded soldiers.

During the fifteen months that the expedition lasted, the queen-duchess remained either at Lyons, or Moulins with her sister-in-law, Anne de Beaujeu, in obedience to the request of the king, who wished her as near him as possible, that she might carry out his orders. Although only eighteen years old, our Duchess Anne was really regent of France in the king's absence and served to the satisfaction of all, especially in Brittany, where she executed some important laws. In the exercise of royal power and in the midst of this life of strain and stress there is a touch of tenderness in Anne's thought of home and family, for it is in 1495 that she gives to Michel Colomb, the Breton sculptor, the order to execute her father's tomb, a work that made him celebrated.

It is known that she wrote Charles every day, and that on receipt of his letters, she sent couriers upon his business in every direction, abundant proof of the king's confidence in her executive ability. This activity, so natural to Anne, was a great help to her in the excitement under which she lived in these months of the king's absence, with its alternations of triumph and anxiety.

In the beginning of the campaign the reports of the king's marvelous victories, as one Italian city after another opened its gates without resistance, and the accounts of the exploits of the Bretons, filled her heart with pride. Nothing could have been more gratifying to her than the stand taken by Savonarola, the great preacher; for the holy man affirmed "that the king was sent by God to chastise the tyranny of the Italian princes, and that none would be able to oppose him." He likewise foretold that the king would enter Pisa, and that the state of Florence would be dissolved on that day. "And so it came to pass," says Commines, "for Peter de Medici was driven out that very day." To the anxious inquiry of Commines, when the tide of success turned to disaster, Savonarola answered "that the king would meet with some difficulties on his return to his own dominions, but that he would overcome them and gain immortal honor." On the other hand, the triumphal entry of Charles into Rome was discounted for Anne by the fact that the Pope, regarding Charles as an enemy, retired on his approach to the castle of St. Angelo and delegated his reception to the cardinals.

The joys of triumph, as the queen found to her sorrow, were of short duration. A year had scarcely passed since the king left France when reports came that the army was greatly diminished by sickness, the nobles were given over to gay living, and that the Italian princes who had been allies at first had turned against the king. But the waning fortunes were ameliorated by accounts of the great bravery of Charles, who, mounted on a beautiful horse, was always in the thick of the fray. Three months later Charles returned to France, and, although his object had not been accomplished and the expedition was, on the whole, useless and disastrous, he had nevertheless covered himself with glory in which the Bretons shared.

Before he reached home disappointment and sorrow of the deepest kind came to the royal pair. At Turin a letter brought information of smallpox at Amboise and asked for instructions. The king ordered several doctors to be summoned, to learn if the dauphin were in danger. After consultation they hastened to reply "that there had been smallpox at Amboise, but that it was at an end; that they had taken care that the people of the village should

not communicate with the castle, but they would advise a change of residence." Anne, a little reassured, sent a courier to the king, and letters of thanks to the governess of the dauphin for the good care she was giving the boy. These had scarcely gone, however, when news of the most alarming kind was received, and on December 6, 1496, at the beginning of his fourth year, the little dauphin died of the dread disease. Because of the failure of the doctors to save his life Anne's faith in them, never very great, was completely shattered.

In each of the three years that followed the death of the dauphin, Anne brought a child into the world, but only for its burial. The first, a son, Charles, born September 8, 1496, died on the third of October in the same year. Another son, Francis, born in 1497, died a few days after birth, and a daughter, Anne, born in 1498, shared the same fate. In vain did the poor mother try to save the lives of these frail infants. She summoned from her own country the best nurses, and, mindful of the Breton superstitions, gave them a box filled with amulets, beads of chalcedony and jasper, a bit of copper from Guiana, a bit of black wax in a gold purse,

and the tongues of six serpents. But the fatality which followed the queen could not be conjured away. The heartless Commines encouraged the belief generally circulated that in this way she was punished for what some called "the illegality of her marriage."

The king and queen sorrowed deeply over the loss of their promising boy, and the health of the king was so affected that the doctors recommended the princes to invent pastimes and games to try to divert his mind. The mother, although broken-hearted, felt that she must assist at these fêtes. While taking part in them Louis danced so gayly that the queen imagined that he was rejoicing over the removal of the one who had stood in his way to the throne, and her displeasure was so keen that Louis withdrew temporarily from the court and went to Blois.

The bodies of Anne's children, whose lives were so short, were placed together in the same tomb at Tours. The reason Tours was selected for this honor is made clear by the choice of many tourists who find this city a convenient center from which to visit the châteaux of Touraine. The sorrowing mother wished to be

near the resting-place of her children. As it proved, her choice was wise, for most of her life was spent in the valley of the Loire.

On our way to the *Hôtel l'Univers* one late afternoon we stopped our machine before the cathedral and visited this memorial of one of the sad chapters of the life that so interested us. The tomb of white marble, decorated with beautiful sculptures remarkable for their fineness, was the work of John I of the school at Tours. The figures of two young children upon the top of the monument are as lovely as beauty and innocence can be pictured in a sleep of peace. In the life of the Duchess Anne the thread of bereavement is never broken. Loss succeeded loss only as a prelude to a heavy blow that, after seven years as duchess-queen, deprived her not only of her husband but of the throne of France where she was so proud and happy to be seated.

On his return from Italy the king's taste for foreign invasion seemed gone, and in the year 1497 the life of the king and queen became quiet enough for her to work again in her own country and promote the fruits of peace. Then,

Tomb of the Children of Charles VIII and Anne. Cathedral of Tours.

following her natural bent, she busied herself with art, letters, and history, and ordered that the archives of Brittany be opened to Pierre le Baud, that he might write the history of the duchy. But in the beginning of the next year the king commenced to think again of conquest, actuated by letters from Savonarola, who urged him to "reform the church by the sword and to expel the Italian tyrants," adding that "disobedience would call down upon the king the wrath of God." But before entering upon this enterprise Charles, made more serious by experience and the loss of his children, turned his attention to the needs of his people and planned to lessen taxes and institute reforms in church and state. Following the example of the illustrious St. Louis, he instituted a public audience where every one, especially the poor, could bring a grievance.

One of his favorite sayings was, "The sword and lance are weapons of offense, the breastplate and shield weapons of defense; learning is both offensive and defensive." As a proof of his love of art and letters he gave France books, marbles, and fine pictures, and estab-

lished in the kingdom wise men, artisans, and skilful workers in the beautiful products of Italy.

In this noble work of the king Anne greatly rejoiced, but more gratifying than this was his repentance for his past follies and his resolve to be henceforth absolutely faithful to her. Often wounded by his flirtations, so contrary to her own ideals of purity, she showed great strength of character by bearing her burden in silence, and while her enemies called her jealous she was but suffering from a wounded heart. Now at this time her trials seemed to be over, and unless she were troubled by the symptoms of apoplexy the doctors already saw in Charles, her heart must have been full of hope for a long and glorious reign. But the next scene in her life is one of the deepest tragedy.

On a pleasant afternoon, the day before Palm Sunday, April 7, 1498, Anne was pleased that Charles dropped for a time the cares of state and his plans with Italian painters and architects, to give her an invitation to witness his favorite game of tennis. Hand in hand they made their way, choosing unfortunately a sel-

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dom-used gallery,[1] unclean and strewn with débris, traversed often by workmen and servants but seldom if ever before by the king. As they entered the passage Anne saw the king hit his head against the lintel of the low doorway, but to her anxious inquiry he replied that he was not hurt and they went on to speak to the players and to watch the game. After greeting his courtiers his conversation took a religious tone, the reflection of the preparations he had been making for Holy Week, and just as he had uttered the words "By the grace of God, I hope never again to commit mortal or venial sin" he suddenly fell, never to rise.

For nine hours, from two o'clock until eleven, he lay there upon a pallet which was hastily brought. All this time his confessor, the bishop of Angers, never left his side, but the agony of the queen so alarmed the doctors that they insisted upon her return to the château. The bishop reported that the only words the king uttered in his few brief moments of consciousness were, "*Mon Dieu et la glorieuse Vièrge Marie, Monseigneur Saint Claude et Monseig-*

[1] This gallery was called Hacquelebac, from one of its ancient guardians.

neur Saint Blaise me soient en aide!"[1] So passed away a monarch of whom it has been said "though not one of the wisest, he was one of the most amiable and beloved that ever sat upon the throne."[2] Commines, who is his harshest critic, wrote of him, "He was so good that better creature could not be seen."

Sincere and general mourning showed how deeply the king was loved, and upon the members of his household the blow fell heavily. One of his archers and one of his butlers, succumbing to their emotion, dropped unconscious at the moment when the body was placed in the tomb. The duke of Orléans, on receiving the messenger who brought the news, scarcely heeded the announcement of his own accession to the throne, but burst into tears and praised the king in warmest terms.

The grief of the duchess was so great that, for a time, her attendants feared for her life. For two days she lay on the floor of her room

[1] "My God and the blessed Virgin Mary, St. Claude, St. Blaise, help me!"

[2] A remarkable coincidence is that on this same day, as if the destiny of the one had been allied with that of the other, the prophet Savonarola met his downfall and a month later was burned to death.

wringing her hands in despair. Lord Bouchage wrote to his wife, "The queen continues to mourn all day and no one can comfort her."

Sharing the anxiety of the court, Louis XII sent for Cardinal Briçonnet, whom the king loved, and Bishop Condon, who had influence over the mind of the duchess. They found her in the same garments she had worn on the day of the disaster, sobbing in a corner of the room and obstinately refusing any nourishment, resolved "to take the way of her husband." Their sympathy and eloquent words finally calmed her mind and brought the color back to her cheeks. Though her grief still continued, her mental power was so great that she found strength to write to the queen of Sicily and to sign a document to reëstablish the chancellery of Brittany, which Charles had suppressed. To the funeral arrangements she gave her personal thought and begged Louis to see that they were carried out with unusual magnificence. This he did faithfully, and, moreover, even defrayed the expenses from his own personal fortune. She declared her intention of wearing a dark color [1] as mourning, instead of white,

[1] This dark color was probably purple.

which had hitherto been worn by the widowed queens of France.

The twenty-first of April following, she sent to Louis two of her faithful servants to regulate the expenses of her mourning and that of her household, expenses that amounted to twenty thousand livres. The duchess distributed to the princes of her family and to the lords and barons of Brittany a large quantity of black cloth in silk and linen.

Such was the first part of the political life of this queen who, without playing the principal rôle, was able, while still very young, to maintain the dignity of her high birth and rank. She had shown herself a duchess and a queen, wearing with pride for seven years her double diadem and impressing her will upon the kingdom. Now the time had come for her to go back to her own dear country, Brittany. That it was for a brief reign only, her own utterance seemed to foretell, when she said to those who pitied her, "I have enough confidence in my star to believe that I shall become a second time queen of France."

CHAPTER VII

ANNE A SECOND TIME DUCHESS OF BRITTANY, 1498–1499

Although no longer queen, Anne was more truly than ever a duchess, in undisputed control of her inherited domains. After seven years on the throne of France, at the age of twenty-one, rich in experience, saddened by the loss of parents, children, husband, and crown, she still had her dear native land, which she was thoroughly capable of ruling and which held for her now, as always, a cordial and loyal welcome.

Immediately upon the death of the king she undertook again the full administration of her realm, as in the days before her marriage, and this she continued the rest of her life, for her second husband, Louis XII, never curtailed or even shared her power.

But before the duchess could return to Brittany, she must pass through a season of mourn-

ing. According to letters patent still in existence, bearing her own signature and that of her secretary, Anne entrusted Victor Gaudin, her silversmith, with the task of seeing that proper mourning be provided, and to pay for this expenditure she took some money from taxes levied upon the two cities, Falaise and Quercy. For six weeks she had to remain in a darkened room, illuminated only by wax tapers, but, as visitors were not excluded, she attended even there to affairs of state. Only two days after the death of the king, Anne promulgated an ordinance at the château of Nantes, reëstablishing Philip of Montauban as chancellor and making the prince of Orange lieutenant-governor. The latter was the first to be summoned to come to her, and when he was known to be on his way, one of her pages was ordered to meet him. A record of her household expenses has one item which reads, "To Philippe de Chantenay, page of the aforesaid lady, ten solz of Tours, for having ridden post the length of the river Loire, even as far as Blois, on the tenth day of the said month of April in order to meet M. the Prince of Orange to make him hasten to

come before the said lady, which sum has been paid to him."

At the end of ten days she was able to address her own people in a dignified personal note:

Amboise, April 17, 1498.

OUR FRIENDS AND LOYAL SUBJECTS:

You have already learned of the recent death of monseigneur, the king, my husband, may God absolve him, concerning whom we have so mourned and lamented that it was not possible for us to write you sooner; but we intend to send you some of our close and loyal envoys to declare to you our intention that you may be favorably treated with justice and peace.

We ask you to see to it that everything is done as it should be, and that you act as our good and loyal subjects, so you will have, as do our other subjects, our help and protection. May God be with you.

Written at Amboise on the 17th day of April.

ANNE.

Upon the back is written, "To our friends and loyal supporters, the people of the chapter of the cathedral of Lantreguyer."

Since the laws of France required the widows of kings to remain a certain time in Paris, Anne sent swift couriers from Amboise to summon

prelates, barons, nobles, and citizens to be ready to attend her to the capital.

Before leaving Amboise, where she remained quietly until the middle of May, she had a solemn service chanted for the dead king. Then, escorted by the officials who had already been summoned, she went to Paris and occupied a large house known as the *Hôtel d'Etampes,* on what is now the *quai des Célestins.* This was a part of Anne's inheritance from the king and was quickly remodeled for her, as it had been for many a widowed queen before. In a biting wind one Sunday afternoon we found our way to the place, but saw no reminders of our duchess or even of any past grandeur. To-day an ordinary modern building stands upon the spot where she passed a few months of her mourning.

Day after day she wrote letters and sent messages by pages or swift horsemen to relatives, friends, and the officers of Brittany, for help or sympathy. One of the first orders was to the master of the mint at Nantes, for coin, both gold and silver, stamped with her own or her father's likeness. To the nobles of Brittany she wrote, asking their allegiance and giv-

ing de Rohan, de Rieux, d'Avaugour, and others command of the most important cities. An old writer says, "She seemed to be devoured by activity."

On her arrival in Paris, surrounded by the lords of her duchy, she received in state King Louis, and after this they met often as friends, as lovers, and as sovereigns upon whom depended the welfare of a nation.

In the middle of the summer, full of a new hope and responsibility, she departed for her duchy in a manner befitting a sovereign princess, her escort a hundred archers sent by her secretary of war in response to her written orders. For those days, she traveled rapidly, and on the sixteenth met the king at Etampes. There on the nineteenth the marriage contract was drawn up. In this the duchess consented to marry the king as soon as he should be free from Jeanne,[1] his wife, and the king promised to restore Nantes and Fougères, which he was holding as a pledge, if through death or other cause he should not marry the duchess within

[1] In September, 1498, a dispensation was granted by the Pope for the marriage of Louis XII with Anne of Brittany. On December 17, 1498, a decree of the dissolution of the marriage of Louis and Jeanne was pronounced.

a year. In every way the king showed courtesy and a desire to please the duchess. Carrying out the conditions that had been imposed upon him, he withdrew his army from her domains, ordered his captains and archers to give place to Bretons, and when, at St. Malo and Brest, they delayed obedience, he reprimanded them for their tardiness. That all had been done to her satisfaction is shown by the following letter from the duchess to the king:

To monsieur my good brother, cousin, and ally.
The Very Christian King.
Monsieur my good brother:
I have received by M. de la Pommeraye your letters, and by their message have learned of the singular benevolence that you bear me, by which I am greatly consoled, and I thank you, with my whole heart, praying you always to continue thus. That you will, is the strong hope of her who is and always will be
Your good sister, cousin, and ally,
Anne.

The day after the marriage-contract was signed, she wrote to her native land announcing her coming.

Etampes, August 20, 1498.
Our friends and loyal supporters:
We shall presently journey on to our country, the duchy of Brittany; in order to know and

de la pomeraye voz cels et aneques sa charge
entendu la singulere benevolence et amytie
que me portes dont je suys tresconsolee et vous
en remercie de tout mon cuer vous priant de
tousiours ainsy continuer co sest la ferme confiance
de celle que est et a jamays serra

vre bune seure cosine et allyee

Amonpz mon bon frere
cousin et allye le Roy treschrien

Anne

FAC-SIMILE OF ONE OF ANNE'S LETTERS TO LOUIS XII.

hear all about affairs in our country, and in order to communicate and declare to you our desires, we have advised the assembly of our states upon our arrival in our city of Rennes, on the fifteenth day of this coming September, on which day we intend to be there in order to have your good advice upon what will be deliberated, for which we desire that you shall be present. Thus we beg, and even command, that on the said day and in the said place you shall send two or three of the influential people from among you, in order to be there, ceasing from every other occupation, and see to it that this is done without fail.

Written at Etampes the 20th day of August.

ANNE.

Upon the back is written, "To our friends and loyal subjects, the people of the chapter of the church of Tréguier."

Then Anne journeyed to Chartres, and toward the end of August she reached Laval, where she rested for a time with her cousin, the queen-widow of Sicily (godmother of the poor little dauphin), a princess for whom Anne had a strong affection. While there she corresponded with the king of France and the lords of Brittany. In her household accounts there is an interesting record of purchases she made, during the summer, of jewels, furniture, and

notable tapestries, which later adorned her new home in Blois.

August seems to have been her busiest month. One of the most interesting details to which she attended was an order to Pierre Signac, controller of her money, for an inventory of tapestries, armorial bearings, furniture, and standards, as well as the special articles of furniture and other things she had when her first child was born. One reason for this inventory was to aid her in making selections for her new home, as seen by notes written against some items as tapestries "to be carried from Brittany."

The next month an inventory was made of her personal belongings, such as jewel-boxes, cabinets, furs, materials for robes, headdresses and wraps, lingerie and linen, gold work, diamonds, and vessels of gold and silver; also articles consecrated to religion, as reliquaries, pictures in gold and silver relief, pictures on brass and ivory, paintings, books in manuscript, and printed books. The exquisite art in their execution doubled the value. The most skillful workmen of France and Italy were employed unceasingly by her, either in making new ob-

jects or adorning those she already possessed. After the birth of the dauphin she had Arnould de Viviers, jeweler of the duchess of Bourbon, fashion for her golden vessels. Later Henri, jeweler to the king, added eight pieces. At her different entries into Nantes, Paris, and Lyons other golden vessels were presented to her. She took the greatest care of them, and never failed to have her arms put on them by the clever artists attached to her house.

It was not until October that she went to Nantes and Rennes as the acknowledged ruler of the duchy. At Rennes she assembled the States General and impressed all by her dignity, keenness, and executive ability. With her usual forethought, this meeting had been carefully arranged long beforehand by letters to the clergy, barons, and citizens of Rennes, St. Malo, St. Brieuc, and Tréguier, who assisted in the convocation. By numberless acts of kindness, and by alms to the poor and gifts to the churches, the young duchess prepossessed the States in her favor.

When she came back to Nantes a magnificent reception awaited her. Under a daïs of black velvet, preceded by large crosses, by silken ban-

ners embroidered in fleurs-de-lis, and by satin standards of black, white, and violet; and followed by trumpeters from the city, wearing black hats, with their instruments adorned with mourning, she made her entry and went directly to the cathedral, where the bishop, in the name of Brittany, gave her condolence.

Back once more in her own country, as its acknowledged ruler, and the recipient of honors and esteem from her people, there seemed nothing now to interfere with her happiness; but sorrow was not entirely absent, for in the death of Françoise de Dinan she met with a distinct loss.

It is interesting to read of her careful attention to domestic affairs,—how she established her household on a new basis, increasing the number and wages of those who composed it. From this time also dates the appointment of a guard of a hundred Bretons to protect her person and to accompany her on her journeys. She was the first queen to have a guard of her own, and when she became queen of France the second time, these Bretons went with her, never more to leave her court; and afterwards, at Blois, they were stationed on one of the ter-

NANTES.—STATUE OF THE DUCHESS ANNE (AT RIGHT)

races, which received the name, "the perch of the Bretons." On seeing them she would always give a sigh of satisfaction and say, "There are my Bretons on their perch, waiting for me."

As there was at this time no history of Brittany that was satisfactory to her, she had planned, after the death of her first husband, to have one written, and now she found an enthusiast in Peter Lebaud, her treasurer and counselor, who had already begun an historical work several years before. He not only consulted the ancient chronicles, but, by order of the duchess, had access to the documents preserved in the churches, monasteries, and municipalities of Brittany. Lebaud transcribed his work on vellum, added beautiful miniatures, and offered it to his mistress. It was a manuscript of three hundred and fifty-seven pages written in two columns, with gilt edges and ornamental letters. The title reads as follows: "Here begins the book of kings, dukes, and princes of Armorican Brittany, with a prologue prefixed: To the very high, very powerful, and very excellent princess, my very sovereign lady, Madame Anne, by the grace of God queen of

France, and, by the same grace, duchess of Brittany; Pierre Lebaud, treasurer of the collegiate church of *Magdalaine à Vitré* and your humble and very obedient subject, servant, orator, and almoner, with honor and reverence and due subjection and obedience."

Sometime in this same year the duchess founded the sisterhood of the *Cordelières,* and built for them a magnificent convent at Lyons, but no trace of it remains to-day, nor of the order itself. Their emblem, the twisted rope, was in token of the cords with which our Lord was scourged the night of His Passion. Anne herself used the emblem in every possible way. She wore a girdle of twisted gold about her waist and had her maids of honor do the same. She used it constantly in decoration, on her furniture, in her books, on her linen, on walls and ceilings. In the châteaux where she lived it is now seen sometimes mingled with the ermine. The most beautiful and effective example is that on her marble mantle over the fireplace of her room at Blois, the room where she lived and died.

Although the period of her activities was so short, they reached in every direction. First,

there was her administrative work as duchess; then her attention to her personal affairs,—setting of her household in order and arranging her second marriage; third, a literary effort in an important field, the history of Brittany; and, not least in her estimation, the founding of a religious order. Fortunately her labors for her own country neither stopped nor lessened, for when she mounted the throne the second time, she was still as truly the duchess of Brittany as she was queen of France.

CHAPTER VIII

ANNE OF BRITTANY AND LOUIS XII—1499–1514

With the new king, Louis XII, who became Anne's second husband, in fulfillment of her first marriage-contract, our quest of the Duchess Anne has made us well acquainted. At Nantes we were introduced to him in the château where, at her father's court, he was charmed with the youthful duchess. When Anne was hardly eight years old, Louis said of her, "She is called the Lady Anne, so beautiful and well informed that she is pleasing in every sense of the word." At Langeais, in the grand salon, we were reminded that he was the principal witness at the wedding of Charles and Anne. At Amboise, recalling the scenes of old court-life, we remembered that Louis lived there, was the dear friend of Charles, knew the beautiful Marguerite, witnessed their nuptials when she was only three and Charles eight years old, and often figured prominently in friendly and close relations with both the king and

duchess-queen. It was Louis, prince of the blood, who had charge of court festivities, and who led the king's army into Italy. Hence we see that the lives of Anne and Louis were closely related, and that now at last they were to enter into the bond of marriage. During her days of mourning he was one of her first and most frequent visitors, and for the good of France and for the happiness of these two his visits could terminate in only one way. As she was pledged to marry the new king or the nearest heir [1] to the throne, a union between these two was inevitable, although it called for the divorce of Louis XII and Jeanne of France, who had been married in 1476.

Our Louis, who, as Louis XII was now king of France and second husband of the duchess, was the third duke of Orléans, and was born at the château of Blois, June, 1462, after his father, Charles of Orléans, returned from twenty-five years' imprisonment in England. The sponsors at his baptism were Louis XI and Marguerite of Anjou, queen of England, then at the court of France. The grandfather of

[1] Francis, count of Angoulême, afterward Francis I, who was then only three years old.

Louis was a brilliant knight, his father a graceful poet, and his uncle a brave captain. Such was his father's character that he merited the name of "the good duke Charles," given him by his cousin Louis XI. His mother, Marie of Cleves, was his father's third wife, and was left a widow with three children,—Louis, then two and one-half years old, and two infant daughters, Marie and Anne. The mother, a woman of intelligence and heart, was as well educated as her husband and ably directed their education.

Before he was seven years old Louis could read, and he early showed a fondness for history. As he grew up he was tall, agile, and strong, and at seventeen was accomplished in the exercises and graces of knighthood, excelling in leaping, wrestling, shooting, tennis, and horsemanship. Interesting anecdotes are told of how he tamed and rode wild horses.

In spite of his long nose, which descended over his mouth, he had an expression of sweetness and charm, his eyes were brilliant, and he was elegant and gracious and of good presence. Although he had led an extravagant life in his youth, he had been well trained by war, exile,

and imprisonment in the school of adversity, and now he forsook his old haunts and companions, forgave his ancient enemies, applied himself diligently to the administration of public affairs, and secured the gratitude, obedience, and attachment of his subjects. His mother taught her son to be forgiving, and when he came to the throne he forgot the injuries of those who had opposed him. When urged to disgrace the French general, La Trémoïlle, who had defeated him, Louis replied, "The king of France must not remember the injuries of the duke of Orléans," and thereupon confirmed the brave La Trémoïlle in his command of the army.

Although the device of Louis was the porcupine with the motto, *eminus et comminus,* "near and far," Louis made his quills felt, but not to the injury of any one. This device of the porcupine with quills outspread gave him the name, Knight of the Flying Quills.

JEANNE OF FRANCE—1465–1505

Jeanne of France was the deformed and unloved daughter of Louis XI. The marriage of Louis and Jeanne had been made under the compulsion of Jeanne's father, who had threat-

ened to put Louis, then a boy of fourteen, into a sack and throw him into the water if he refused.

After this marriage, although Jeanne loved him devotedly, Duke Louis kept away from his wife as much as possible, only visiting her five or six times a year at the order of the king, and he claimed, with justice, that she was not and never had been his wife. But she never failed in her devotion to him. During the three years that Louis was in prison after his defeat at St. Aubin, Jeanne was working for his release, and it was largely through her efforts that it was secured. Such a marriage as theirs was easily set aside, and with due form a dispensation was granted by Cæsar Borgia; but the people said of those who had given the decree, "Behold Caïphas, Herod, Pilate, who have judged against the noble dame so that she is no more queen of France." Frior Maillard blamed the king exceedingly, and at the threat that "he might be thrown into the river for his speeches" he said, "I would as soon go to heaven by water as by land," and continued to preach that Jeanne was the true queen. Jeanne had always said "she was not worthy

to be the mate of so great and noble a king," but she begged permission to take leave of her husband and showed her humility and forgiving spirit by saying to him, "I trust that you will be happier with another than you have been with me, and I entreat your pardon for having caused you so much uneasiness."

Whereupon the virtuous Jeanne, devout and humble, although plain and deformed, retired to Bourges and founded the order of the Annonciade. Jeanne was made duchess of Berri by Louis, and had wealth, but she devoted her life and money to helping the poor and sick. Her virtues and misfortunes attracted to herself universal sympathy, and many stories are told of her holy life.

After this, Jeanne was always looked upon as a saint, and, while she was dying, her nuns saw a golden light hovering over the place and illuminating the chamber in which she passed away. At her death she was found to have on a garment of haircloth, an iron chain with points about her waist, and a cross with silver points near her heart.

Miracles were performed at her tomb, and for many years her birthday was observed by

religious services. Two centuries after her death a fête was given to show the reverence in which her memory was held. One preacher said of her in a commemoration address, "She was so plain that she was repudiated by her husband; she was so beautiful that she became the bride of Jesus Christ." One of her sayings was: "God never changes, why should I? He is mine and I will strive to be His."

Ten days after his divorce Louis XII made haste to ask for the hand of Anne de Bretagne, and on August 12 a contract drawn up between them changed the old relation of friendly love, born long ago in Brittany, to the new tie of betrothal, and in the ninth month of her widowhood Anne married the king. Thus a second time the lovely duchess came to ascend the throne of France amid universal rejoicing.

The marriage of Louis and Anne was consummated January 8, 1499, in the château [1] of Nantes where Anne was born. Louis made his entry with royal splendor, under a blue daïs with four embroidered escutcheons, two with

[1] By mistake it is sometimes said that they were married "in the chapel," from the expression which occurs in the French, *dans la chapelle.* But this referred to the garments worn by the priest in the ceremony.

the arms of France and two with the arms of Brittany. The king was thirty-six and the duchess nearly twenty-three, not the rosy-cheeked bride of Charles VIII, but, though pale, she was still beautiful, and in her dress of blue-and-gold damask she appeared a fit mate for any king.

Concerning the marriage ceremony there remain no documents, but we know that the benediction was given by the Cardinal de Rouen. Tradition says that *La Chanson d'une Mariée,* which is shown on the following pages, was sung, and that an illuminated antiphonary was executed by order of the bridal pair for presentation on this occasion. The ceremony was followed by splendid entertainments, by joustings, and by a great feast which lasted until midnight.

It is interesting to know that of the folio antiphonary there still exists, in fine condition, at least one whole vellum leaf, and cuttings of beautiful large initials, with border, from four other pages. The single leaf, which is twenty by twenty-six and a half inches, is decorated on both sides, and has music notes on a staff of four lines, with Latin words for chanting.

CHANSON DE LA MARIÉE

(HAUTE BRÉTAGNE ET VENDÉE)

Paris, Editions Maurice
Senart et Cie
20 rue du Dragon

Ritournelle et harmonisation
de Maurice Duhamel

Calme et lent. *mf*

J'en - tends dans le bo -

ca - ge — Le ros - si - gnol jo - li — Qui

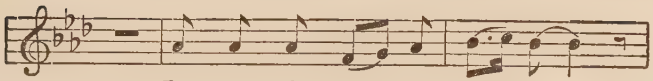
dit en son lan-ga - ge: — Les é-poux sont u - nis!

Des-cends de ton arbre é - le - vé, Ros - si -

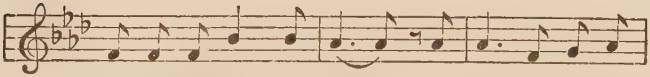
gnol qui sou - pi - res, — C'est i - ci qu'est la

ma - ri - ée, Mon-tre lui ton doux sou-ri - re.

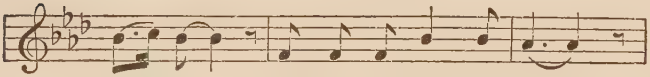
[The above song is one of a series published under the title of *Le Chant Populaire. Anthologie du Folklore de Tous les Pays Publiée sous la Direction artistique de Gustave Charpentier.*]



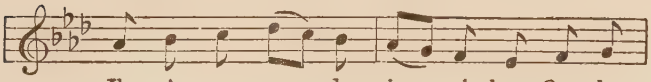
Le ros - si - gnol sau - va - ge —



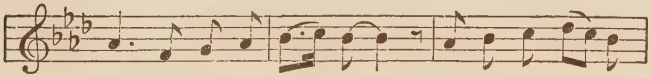
En-tend cet air char - mant — Et dans son doux lan-



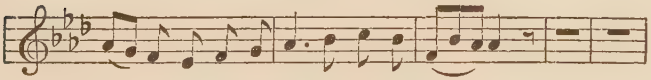
ga - ge — Com - po - se une chan - son: —



Il n'y a pas de jour si beau Que le



jour du ma - ri - a - ge Il n'y a pas de



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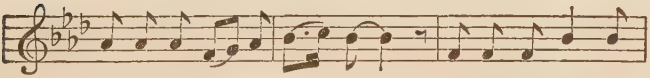

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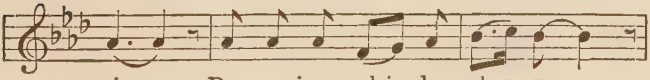
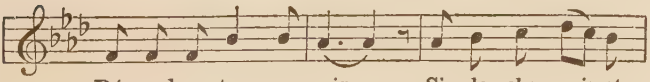
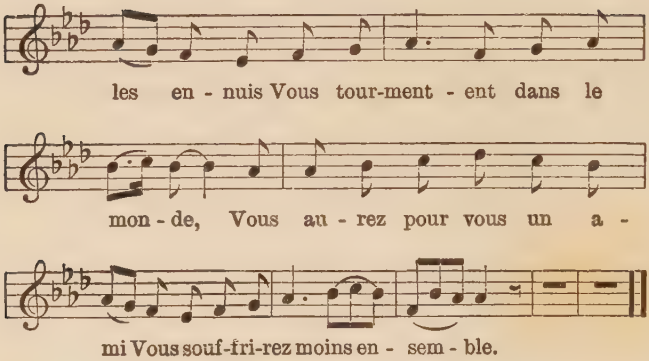


sirs, De ce jour plein de char - mes —

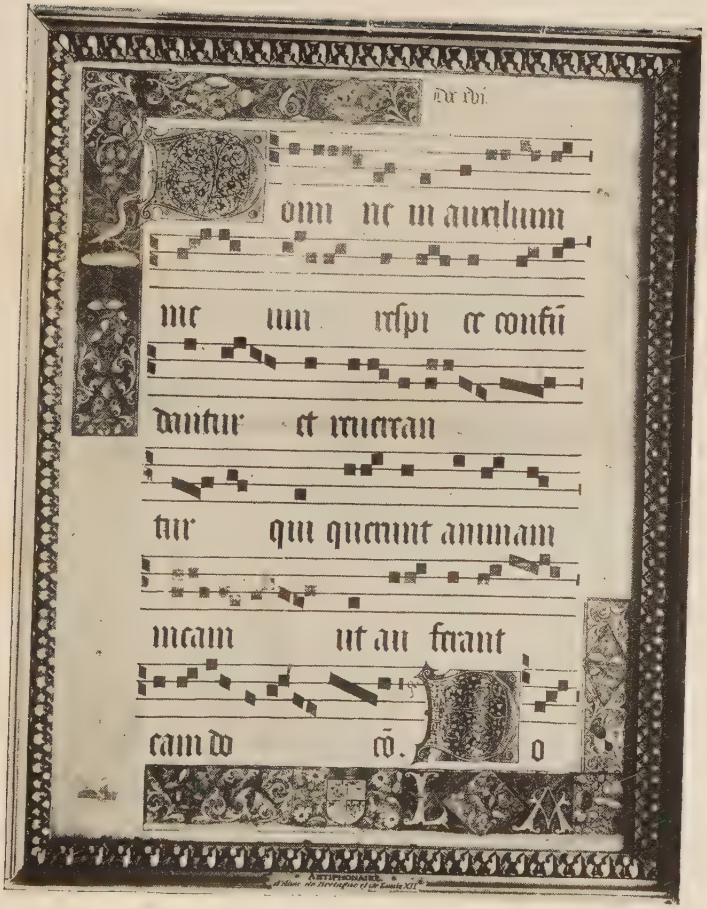


Dé-pend vo - tre ave - nir — Si le cha - grin et



This illumination is so elaborate it must have been the first page of the folio. On one side are two *D's* about three by three and a half inches, in rich, deep blue on a gold ground, with two elegant floral borders in opposite corners in gold and colors. The crowned initials *L* and *A* appear in both borders, and in the lower one are the arms of Louis XII the first and fourth quarterings, of France; the second and third, the visconty of Milan. The other side of the leaf has a distinctive feature in a grotesque head combined with an initial *B* done in gold, with pen-work on a blue ground.

This is so different in workmanship and coloring from the exquisite borders, that the careful observer sees two distinct artists. The gro-



Leaf from a Folio Antiphonary executed in 1499 for the Wedding of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany.

tesque head and the notation were never painted by the same hand that did the flowers. The latter were put on with a finer brush, and the coloring was less skillfully done, particularly in the use of blue and gold. Although the artists cannot be certainly known, it is easy to conjecture. The grotesque head is so much like the work in the illuminated vellum books by Antoine Verard,[1] royal publisher and printer, that it was doubtless executed by him or by one of the artists employed by him; while the finer portion—the exquisite color and workmanship of the flower border, with the birds and insects—so closely resembles the decorations in Anne's Book of Hours that it seems likely they were painted by the same hand, that of Poyet.

The terms of the marriage-contract drawn up the day previous, were much more favorable to the duchess and to Brittany than any that had gone before, for this bridegroom was not like Charles VIII, the conqueror of the bride, but a king desiring to wed a duchess, a friend woo-

[1] Antoine Verard published and had books especially ornamented for Charles VIII and Louis XII of France, as well as for Henry VII of England.

ing the daughter of an old ally. So it was easy for Anne and her councilors to stipulate, as they did, that she should have the exclusive government of her duchy and the entire use of its revenue. Besides, she had the dowry Charles had given her for life, and one double that amount that Louis added. As to succession, it was arranged that the duchy was to pass to the second male son,—the first would inherit France,—and, in default of males, to daughters in the order of their birth. In case there were no children, the inheritance was to go to the king during his life-time and then return to the nearest claimants in Brittany. Neither in this contract nor in his own desires did Louis ever interfere with Anne's rights in Brittany. The articles of this treaty showed clearly that the duchess was to govern as the ancient dukes had done.

The queen-duchess took advantage of this event to order her treasurer to distribute to various hospitals in her native land a quantity of useful supplies, and to make gifts to churches, such as vestments and a communion service.

Louis was so well pleased with the fair prov-

ince which Anne brought him as a dowry that, after the wedding, he lingered the greater part of the winter in Brittany, taking so much pleasure in the chase that he made it fashionable for the nobles. In the spring they journeyed slowly to their chosen home, the château of Blois, the birthplace of Louis, greeted on the way by receptions and fêtes. At Amboise a daïs of red damask was erected for the king and one of white for the queen. Among the elaborate decorations rose two columns spouting wine, one bearing a porcupine, the emblem of Louis, and the other the ermine of Anne. Here, where Anne of Brittany had reigned with Charles, Louis XII had the delicate forethought to keep in the background, allowing the queen to occupy the royal seat alone, that his presence might not remind her of the sad past.

At Blois there were no such shadows, and there Louis cordially welcomed his queen to their new life together upon the throne of France.

CHAPTER IX

A VISIT TO BLOIS

Not making the mistake of some tourists in visiting Amboise and Blois the same day, we chose for our headquarters Tours, the royal city of Queen Anne, and gave a day to each of her regal homes. At the château of Blois the wing added by Louis XII, of red brick with stone trimmings, is one of the most beautiful architectural monuments in France. From the moment we entered the courtyard the equestrian statue of Louis XII, under the arch decorated with designs of the porcupine, greeted us and took us back to the days of the Duchess Anne. The story of these two so dominated the place that we bestowed only a passing glance at the wonderful spiral staircase of Francis I, and passed at once to the left, through the apartments of King Louis and Queen Anne.

Beginning at the guard-room, with its great

Château of Blois.—Wing Louis XII. Residence of Louis XII and Anne.

marble fireplace, we visited the rooms on two floors, many of them decorated with the ermine and fleur-de-lis. The room that most interested us was Anne of Brittany's bed-chamber where she died. It has a fireplace of pure white marble on which is the delicately carved *cordelière* and the monogram *L. A.* The walls are covered with the fleur-de-lis and the ermine-tip, all in white. The figure known in heraldry as the ermine, or the ermine-tail, was the ancient device of the house of Brittany. It was originally represented in black upon a white ground, to indicate the black-tipped tail upon the white body of the ermine. Undoubtedly it symbolized purity, as the motto of the counts of Brittany reads, "Death, rather than a stain." In honor of the Breton queen these ermine-tails were for many years mingled with the lilies of France in royal heraldry, and both the ermine and the *cordelière* are emblazoned upon many of the châteaux of Touraine.

These empty rooms could easily be refurnished almost exactly as they were three hundred years ago, for the queen's inventories and accounts, although destroyed in part, give us the essential items. Turkish rugs covered the

floors, and the walls were hung with tapestries, mainly Flemish, some of which told the Story of the Ages, the Story of King Ahasuerus and Queen Esther in six pieces, the history of the Nine Knights in nine pieces, and the Romance of the Rose, all of which were brought from Nantes. There were four large historical pieces of joustings, and one, very old, tapestry embroidered with the arms of Brittany.

There was also a unique set of hangings for the walls and the canopied bed, called "the tapestry of Milan," done in crimson satin, with occasional embroidery, and in each piece there were five lions made of pearls; each lion, crowned with a chaplet in which were different kinds of fruit, held in his paw a shield upon which were two seals. One set of hangings was made in Lyons, and many of those in the chambers and oratories of the king and queen had a *cordelière* in silk and gold, showing how this symbol was ever present in Anne's mind.

In little Claude's room there was a hint of Anne's modern thought in a touch of kindergarten principles, for it was hung with tapestries of farmyard scenes and figures of fairies and gnomes out of the realm of childhood. The

great room to which the archduke was assigned when he came to be betrothed to Claude, had tapestries depicting the Trojan War. These tapestries peopled the rooms with persons of all times, countries, and ranks.

For furniture there were elegant and richly carved pieces, few in number for the present day, as little furniture was in use at that time, especially chairs, two being considered a luxury.

Anne had two large chairs covered with velvet in her chamber, one for herself and one for her husband. Those who came to see the queen usually stood, unless it was an important person, when the page brought a bench; if it were a woman and a princess, she sat on a cushion; if a simple mademoiselle or one from the middle class, she knelt before the duchess. Ordinarily Anne's bed was covered with red velvet and cloth of gold; for childbirth she had a second bed, called *lit de misère,* made with less expensive materials, as, for example, yellow and red damask worked in black and yellow with her device, the twisted cords. There was a huge dresser on which were placed the objects necessary in illness. Vessels of gold

were made for it, and a basin for the holy water, set with seven diamonds, seven rubies, and ten great pearls, stood at the head of the bed.

From the illuminations in her books we can picture Anne back again in her rooms. Le Roux helps us to do this in a description of three of these miniatures.

In the first one Queen Anne is represented seated in a chair in her bed-chamber, dressed in a black robe which trails on the floor; a little white dog sleeps on the folds of her gown. From the coiffure there extends a square piece of cloth over her forehead, down to her eyes. She is writing a letter to the king, her husband, upon a simple table covered with a green cloth; the inkhorn and penknife are ornamented with gold; a book on the table, bound with red velvet and having gilt edges and gold clasps, is apparently the Book of Hours. In the other hand the queen holds a handkerchief with which to dry her tears. Close to the table the women of her court are seated on the floor, all wearing a costume and headdress like Anne's. By the side of the queen is her bed, covered with gold embroideries, the curtains partly red and partly gold. To the curtains

Duchess Anne's Fireplace, Château of Blois.

at the head of the bed are fastened the images of two saints. Near the bed is a green parrot in a cage. At the end of the room is a large square chest whose panels are carved.

In the second illustration the queen is seated on a daïs, wearing over her dress a coat of red velvet lined with cloth of gold, which has large sleeves and trails on the ground. She gives her letter to a messenger, who holds a red cap in his hand and kneels before her. He bears on his right shoulder a shield of France. Above the letter is written, "To my Lord the King." The finger of the queen covers a part of the writing.

An officer of the queen holds a red bonnet in his hand and wears a collar of gold and a gold cap on his head. The ladies are seated on the floor as before. Among them is one of royal blood, and from appearances she has no more privileges than other women.

The third miniature represents Anne again writing to the king. Here she is in a room more vast than the one shown before; the hangings are embroidered in twisted cords. Daylight penetrates one of the long, high windows where can be seen the arms of Louis and of

Anne surrounded with a border of fleurs-de-lis and crowned *A's*.

The queen, dressed in a robe of gold brocade, is seated upon a stage surmounted by a daïs, having before her a little table. She folds a letter for which a courier waits with his horse before an open door. The ladies of honor are engaged in tapestry work.

We can picture her stepping from such a room into her oratory, where she had three little gold-enameled pictures of the Virgin and Child, a massive vessel, silver-gilt, for the wine of the communion, and a silver box engraved with a figure of Our Lady of Piety, for the bread that was presented to the queen; there were also several magnificent shrines, in gold and silver, sculptured with great skill.

At the end of the wing we saw her gallery, still hung with pictures, and Le Roux furnishes a list which would enable one to restore the original contents. We know, too, what her library was; doubtless it was the finest collection in that day, for she really had four libraries, her father's, Charles VIII's, Louis XII's, and her own. The great value of some of her books is proved by the fact that an Ovid made es-

pecially for her was sold in the Hoe collection in New York in 1912 for fifty-two thousand dollars.

Last of all, we visited the chapel on the ground floor, simple, unpretentious, but dignified. Our visit over, the strongest impression we carried away was of a home, private and regal, where two crowned heads with human hearts had lived many years in happiness.

CHAPTER X

LOUIS AND ANNE

In the first year of their marriage the shadow of war fell over Anne again. For Louis, although ruler now of the fairest and broadest territory of any in Europe, cherished the same vain Italian projects as his predecessor. He took up the claims in Naples on the ground of inheritance from Charles, and in Milan, by inheritance from his grandmother Valentine, of the Visconti family, whose rule there had been superseded by that of the Sforzas. Practically all their married life this struggle with Italy lasted, for in the summer of 1499 Louis crossed the Alps, and peace was not signed until after the death of the queen.

To show the high esteem in which he held Anne, and that he shared his victories with her, Louis XII placed the arms of Brittany over the gate of every Italian city that capitulated to him.

Louis XII.

Anne had the wisdom to perceive that expeditions beyond the mountains would not add to the prosperity of France, since two peoples separated by such natural barriers could not easily be one in race, language, and ideals. In this opinion she showed herself to be far-seeing, as she was forecasting judgments with which the ablest diplomats of to-day would agree. Never in sympathy with war, and especially opposed to carrying it into Italy, her heart was greatly troubled to meet this trial a second time. Besides, how would the honest, straightforward Louis fare with Italian wiles? Her fears were realized when, later in the war, Louis was deserted by those who were at first his allies, Pope Julius II and Ferdinand of Spain.

Upon the king's departure for Italy, the queen, owing to the plague, took refuge with Louise of Savoy [1] at Romorantin, thirty miles south of Blois. As Louise has been called, and doubtless was, "Anne's hated rival," it is interesting to note some instances of friendly relation, of which this is one. There were two

[1] Countess of Angoulême and widow of Charles of Angoulême.

reasons why these women could not be in sympathy. Anne stood for purity of life in the home and at court, while Louise was not above the corruption of her time. Both were anxious to place an heir upon the throne, for, in case Anne did not have a son, Francis,[1] the five-year-old son of Louise, would inherit the kingdom, as indeed it turned out. So Louise must have been pleased that the child born to Anne on October 15, 1499, was a girl. Preceding and following the birth of Claude there were so many calamities—the plague, continual rains that prevented the ripening of the grapes, and the fall of the old bridge of Notre Dame in Paris—that the superstitious interpreted them as evil omens.

The little girl was named for St. Claude, who was called upon in times of peril or on the approach of death. When Louis heard the news of the birth of Claude he greatly rejoiced, for he said, "Since one has a daughter, there is great hope of having a son"; and such was his eagerness to see Anne and the child that in about a month he left Milan and hastened to the

[1] Francis I, grandson of the first duke of Orléans, born at Coignac, September 12, 1494, died at Rambouillet, 1547.

queen, who was transported with joy at his coming. After the christening of the young princess the father and mother took her to Blois, and, when she was eight months old, gave her into the care of Madame Bouchage, in whom the mother had perfect confidence. Although not a strong child, Claude did not have any serious malady, and was greatly beloved by her mother, who transferred to her the passionate affection given the dauphin, on account of whose death Anne had lost all faith in doctors and accused them of ignorance and carelessness because they had not seen the danger threatening her son.

Even then Anne's anxiety was so great and her affection so tender that, when absent from the child, letters were constantly kept flying back and forth, those of Madame Bouchage repeating, "Your little daughter is well and happy, and growing every day," and those of Anne asking for news and charging that the child should not be intrusted to physicians. One of the letters reads as follows:

Grenoble, June 11, 1507.

My dear companion:

I have received your letter and the good news

of my little daughter, for whom I was very anxious. Keep me constantly informed. See that she has nothing to do with doctors and give her your own care.

ANNE.

But her lack of faith in medical men did not extend to the church fathers, in whom she devoutly believed, and, following the advice of the bishop of Grenoble, she dedicated Claude to François de Paule, who had recently died. When Claude recovered her health, Anne obtained of the Pope the canonization of de Paule, and in her reliance upon the holy fathers she became more tranquil and happy.

Having placed her daughter in safe hands, the queen then resumed her active life and obligations to church and state. First she went to the abbey that held the shrine of St. Claude, to pay her vows for the gift of her child, then to Burgundy to act as godmother to the son of the prince of Orange, honoring the banquets and festivals of the occasion by her grace and queenly bearing. In May she met her husband at Lyons and ordered a tournament in which seven of her household were to break lances with seven of the king's.

Surrounded by her maids-of-honor, the queen was seated on a stand erected especially for her, while the king occupied another with his nobles. At the sound of trumpets and drums the knights entered the lists with their ladies riding behind them, the king's men in white cloaks and the queen's in blue. After the ladies had dismounted and taken their seats with the queen, the jousting began in earnest, and so sharp was the contest that the prince of Navarre was thrown from his horse and many of the knights were wounded. By her presence at such feats of arms Anne showed her interest in bravery in the field.

The stories of Charles and Louis in Italy read much alike, in that they both began with sweeping victories and both ended in defeat. Two great men stand out prominently in these accounts; in one, Savonarola, the prophet; in the other, Gonsalvo de Cordova, the *gran capitan* of Spain. But while the former favored the ruling Charles, the great Spanish warrior routed Louis' army in one of the most disastrous battles[1] in the history of France; Charles's story is shorter, for he went only

[1] On the banks of the Garigliano, in 1503.

once to Italy, while Louis went three times. Both had trouble with the popes, but the quarrel of Louis was the more serious, and only ended at Anne's intervention, just before her death.

In the end Louis' failure was as complete as that of Charles, for in 1513 he had not a single possession in Italy, but although his foreign policy was not successful, Louis saw to it that the wars with Italy did not overtax France. He was moderate in personal expenditures and left his kingdom rich, to be impoverished later by the prodigality of Francis I. When once accused of being parsimonious, Louis answered, "I would rather see the courtiers laughing at my avarice than the people groaning at my extravagance."

The only good resulting from the wars in Italy was that they brought Italian art and culture into France.

Although Anne greatly desired peace, she nobly stood by her husband when the war was decided upon, and to the French navy, especially, gave most timely help by gifts from her own treasury and by enlisting her own countrymen in service. Although she would have been glad to keep Brittany out of the war altogether,

she wished the Bretons to do their part, and, jealous as they were of their privileges and proud of their independence, they responded to her call, as long as it did not sacrifice their rights or their traditions. Accordingly, in 1501, she gave out of her private revenue twelve vessels of war to join the French fleet in the Mediterranean, a squadron that afterward distinguished itself in the expedition against the Turks, for when Louis concurred in the general attempt of Europe to deliver Constantinople, she encouraged him because of her own religious feeling, and came to his aid with the resources her duchy could furnish, soldiers and sailors, the bravest and best, also ships and money. One of the ships that Anne contributed to the French navy was a very large one called the *Marie-la-Cordelière,* and upon it were embarked one hundred cannon and twelve hundred men, Breton sailors, gunners, and nobles of the house of the queen. During a journey the queen made into Brittany she had the pleasure of seeing the beautiful ship twice.

But seven years later the vessel was destroyed in a fierce battle near Brest, in which twenty Breton ships met eighty of the English

fleet. The *Cordelière* was attacked by the *Regent* and was so hard pressed that her commander, Hervé Portzmoguet, seeing that he must choose between surrender and death, cast grappling-irons on the *Regent* and set fire to his own ship and that of his enemy, so that those on board perished, either in the flames or in the sea.

There is a poem which was printed at Paris in 1513 in Latin verse, on the loss of the *Cordelière.* The author, Germain Brice, secretary of the chancellor of France, dedicated it to Queen Anne de Bretagne, who, soon after, attached him to her service.

How busy these wedded monarchs must have been and how able! It seems almost impossible that without locomotives, telegraphs, or telephones, they could have accomplished so much in so short a time, for in this one year, 1501, while war was waged abroad, the château was enlarged at home, a squadron launched, wise laws enacted, and, not the least to them or the nation, a new baby welcomed at the fireside.

Anne's life of thirty-seven years can be called

short only when measured by time. Its activities might have filled the long lives of two or three and left no leisure for ennui or idleness.

CHAPTER XI

THE INCIDENT OF DE GIÉ

The fall of 1503 and the winter of 1504 furnish a dramatic episode typical of Anne's life, "a web of mingled yarn of good and ill together." In a few short months defeat, disappointment, joy, and triumph were closely interwoven.

Very early in the Italian campaign the physical effect of the war upon the king had made the queen anxious about his health, for, although looking robust, he easily became fatigued. In September, France was nearly overwhelmed by the news of a disastrous battle with the Spaniards under Gonsalvo de Cordova, which obliged Louis to give up Naples and sign disadvantageous treaties.[1] Shortly after, probably as a result of this blow, the king was seized with an alarming illness that called forth

[1] Three treaties of Blois: (1) Purchase of Milan from Maximilian; (2) sale of Naples to Ferdinand of Spain and betrothal of Claude to the grandson of Maximilian; (3) division of Venice with the emperor.

the queen's constant and loving care, and so alarmed the doctors that they thought he could not recover.

Now we come to that incident in the life of Anne of Brittany, called "her persecution of de Gié," that has been related by her chroniclers to her detriment. But in these accounts the whole story has not been told,—only that part in which Anne appears. In referring to this incident Brantôme is severe in his criticisms. He says: "The queen did not desire the death of de Gié, because she wished him to live that she might torture him, to live dishonored and debased, since his sufferings would be a hundred times more than death itself, for death lasts only a day, really only an hour, whereas his changed fortune would make him die every day." But Le Roux considers this very unjust, protesting, "The reasoning of Brantôme is strange and surely imagined, for he gives to that princess a hardness of heart that she never had." Moreover, she left to Gié life, liberty, and fortune, which few other sovereigns in her position would have done. It is the historian Lavisse who goes deeply into the matter, making the question a political rather than a per-

sonal one. Lavisse finds in Cardinal d'Amboise the moving power in the downfall of de Gié, rather than in the queen, whom he does not even mention in this connection.

During the crisis of her husband's illness, and for sometime before, the circumstances at court were particularly trying for Anne de Bretagne. She felt quite alone and in a position where she must think and act for herself. There were two rival parties at strife with each other: the party of the queen, composed of a few loyal Frenchmen and Breton lords faithful to their country; and the party of Louise of Savoy, at whose head was Marshal de Gié, of the Rohan family, whom Louis had made governor of Francis, heir to the throne,—a wise choice, as de Gié, when general of the king's army, had devoted much time to literature and arts in Italy, and was one of the most distinguished nobles of his day. In the marshal the queen found the inveterate enemy of her house, for, although a Breton prince, he was in the service of France against the independence of Brittany.

Behind these two parties was Cardinal d'Amboise, already powerful among the clergy

and longing for the place de Gié held in state affairs. During the cardinal's absence in Rome de Gié had become so essential to the king that he could not be spared even to go to his dying wife, and his position stood in the way of the cardinal's ambitions. So when there came an occasion for d'Amboise to work against de Gié, he was ready to seize it, and this occasion he found in the trouble that arose between the queen and the marshal. But the cardinal himself, who was really the prime mover of the whole process, kept in the background as much as possible and cleverly managed the affair so that Anne and others, principally Anne, appeared to be the instigators of the unfortunate proceeding.

When the doctors declared that the death of the king was imminent, Marshal de Gié sent for Louise of Savoy and began to plan for the best interests of the young prince, her son. De Gié fortified Amboise, stationed himself where he could watch the movements of the queen, and placed a guard of ten thousand archers along the river Loire, with orders not to allow Claude to leave the country, for it was reported that Anne was going to take her out of France with

the ultimate purpose of making her ruler of Brittany. The queen, on her side, knowing the difficulties incident upon the death of Louis, and that there was no one to take thought for her or her interests, began to prepare for her own return to Brittany. She gave orders to the officers of the house to place her furniture, plate, and other valuables upon great boats and send them to Nantes. It was at this point that the marshal, overstepping the bounds of his authority, declared "that while the king was alive she had no right to move," and stopped the boats. But her majesty was in the right, for these possessions were her own, by marriage-contracts, by inheritance from her father, or by her own purchase. Naturally, at such an interference with her commands and reflection upon her conduct, her anger and indignation were thoroughly aroused; she determined that the marshal should be severely punished, and she therefore began to take proceedings against him. In this she was supported by d'Amboise, because he had desired for some time to supplant de Gié; by Alain d'Albert, her rejected suitor, because he needed Anne's aid in Navarre, and wanted to win her over to help him;

and, finally, by Louise of Savoy, who, in spite of jealousy and the fact that de Gié was acting for her own son, took sides with the queen.

Louise and de Gié were no longer friends; some say she had refused his offer of marriage, others that he was cold to her admiration. An incident is related of the meeting of these two at Amboise, where Louise was overheard to accuse de Gié. The marshal answered, "If I had served God as I have served you, madam, I should not have a great account to render Him." That Louise and Alain, who were not at all friendly with Anne, should join with her, is significant of the greatness of the opposition. As a consequence of Gié's high-handed conduct he was first banished from court, and then arrested and tried for high treason. The charges he had to answer were innumerable, but few of them were made by Anne. It is usually imputed to her that she had a most severe sentence pronounced upon him, namely, that his goods were to be confiscated, his children deprived of their birthright, and he himself condemned to decapitation. Certain it is that she pursued him with animosity. It is not a pleasing incident in her

history, but her enemies have exaggerated the account. Most writers fail to give ground for the accusations against him made by others, principally Cardinal d'Amboise, and these accusations would have been made even if Anne had had no grievance. Without any mention of Anne's case against Gié, Lavisse states that he was first sentenced in the spring of 1504, and again in 1506 for *lèse-majesté,* because he had circulated letters throughout France reporting that the king could not live much longer.

After unjust proceedings and other trials, first in one place and then in another, his sentence was softened, some say by the intervention of Louis. In the end de Gié was deprived of his captaincy of Amboise and Angers, of one hundred lancers, was suspended for five years from the office of marshal, was exiled ten leagues from the court for the same time, was made to pay the salary of fifteen soldiers of the royal troops he had employed in his own service, and was compelled to restore the money he had used on his château of Fronsac. The fallen favorite returned to Anjou, where he built a fine residence and bore his disgrace with

dignity. Referring to this affair, he only said, "Very early the rain has fallen." As for d'Amboise, he became next in authority to the king, but used his power so judiciously that he merited the name by which he has been called, "The True Pope of France."

As Anne appeared to be the chief accuser, the court condemned her, as the civil party, to pay the costs of the trial, and Louis allowed her to take it out of her own personal property. The whole proceeding became the subject of much general comment throughout the kingdom. In a play written at this time a pun is made upon the name of Anne. One of the characters says, "Once upon a time there was a marshal who tried to shoe an *Ane,* but she gave him such a blow with her hoof that he bounded out of court over the walls into the orchard." This satire was enjoyed in several colleges in Paris, but, because of the reference to the queen, Louis forbade such farces for the future and banished several of the overbold students as a warning to the others. He said, "I want the players to act in freedom and expose the abuses of my court, provided always that the honor of the ladies be safeguarded."

CHAPTER XII

ANNE'S SECOND CORONATION

Probably on account of the war the second coronation of the queen and her entry into Paris had long been delayed, but, on the king's recovery, the gloom of defeat and sickness gave place to brilliancy and festivity. Louis issued a royal message as follows to the citizens of Paris, showing how he wished the queen to be honored:

Dear and well-beloved:

Our very dear and well-beloved consort the queen has the intention shortly to make her entrance into our good city of Paris, and since we desire, with all our hearts, that she should be received by you and welcomed in the most joyous and honorable manner possible, we have thought fit to apprise you of the same, in order that you may do your part to show her such respect as you would show to our own person, and in so doing you will act in a way to cause us great pleasure, which we shall hold in memory when occasion shall require.

May the Lord have you in his keeping.

Given at Fontainebleau, October 30.
(Signed) Louis
"De Saussaye."

The response was most generous, a gift of ten thousand livres[1] of the money of Tours, the largest ever given any queen, was voted, and elaborate arrangements made to surpass even the first coronation. The ceremonies included a banquet at the *hôtel de ville;* streets were hung with tapestries, houses were lighted with torches ready to receive the queen and her ladies if they needed rest or refreshment, there were long and brilliant processions, and mystery plays were enacted in praise of the lily and the ermine at the gates and in the squares through which Queen Anne passed.

The coronation took place November 18, 1503, in the abbey of St. Denis. Thus Anne de Bretagne, as she herself had prophesied, became a second time queen of France. Her guiding star had led her again to the throne, and once more she had the right to wear the royal crown, the only woman who was ever twice queen of France. As Cardinal d'Am-

[1] At this time the *livre tournois* (l. t.) was equal to four francs, or about eighty cents.

boise placed the crown upon her head, did Louis and Anne recall how, twelve years before, he had held that same crown over her head when she first became queen of France? That little incident must ever come back among the memories of their love of many years. Did they have at that first coronation glimmerings of what the future was to bring to them? We almost think Anne, with her prescience, might have had. No doubt the years that intervened had only made their relation more precious to them, and more interesting to those present, as it is to us who have come to know them through history and châteaux.

The day after the coronation the queen-duchess tarried at La Chapelle, where she was met by the municipal authorities in ceremonial robes of crimson, followed by the trades,—drapers in violet, grocers in tan, furriers in gray, money-changers in brown, and goldsmiths in blue, making a brilliant appearance. The queen received under a canopy held by ten merchants, who felt greatly honored by the appointment. She listened to their speeches and replied gracefully, still standing, while the whole procession filed past her. Then she

mounted her litter and went her way to the gate of St. Denis.

There one of the mystery plays was performed; a huge heart, erected over the gate, represented Paris supported by Justice, the clergy, and the people. Within the heart were two beautiful girls, Loyalty and Honor, who were presented to the queen with a complimentary verse recited by an actor. Another mystery had the Transfiguration for its theme, but the most interesting and appropriate was "The Five Annes," out of the Bible and Apocrypha, to which the name of Queen Anne was added.

Five dames in Holy Scripture found,
By name of Anne are much renowned.
From one the wise child Samuel came,
Elkanah was the father's name.
The second married Tobit old.
Her deeds of charity are told;
Mother of Sarah [1] next we see,
To young Tobias wed was she.
The fourth, a prophetess so bold
That Messiah's coming she foretold.
Mother of Mary, fifth we greet,
Chosen of God, a virgin sweet.
For sixth we add a name most dear,

[1] This name is Edna in our Apocrypha.

Whom all her people well revere;
When has a nobler ever been
Than Anne, our lady and our queen?

From the old gate, the queen, with an escort of Breton and French nobles, was borne under the canopy of the guilds to Notre Dame, where she was received by the bishop and where she said her prayers. The day, which must have been a wearing one, closed at the Palace of Justice, with a costly banquet at which the queen presided, seated in the center of a famous "marble table," with the court, members of Parliament, and her great ladies below her. The guests numbered more than a thousand and the French chefs produced their choicest viands.

After the coronation the queen left Paris and returned to Touraine, but fêtes were kept up in her honor until the end of December. During a part of this time she lived at Loches, where to-day is still to be seen the tiny oratory of Anne of Brittany in a wing built for her by Louis XII and reached by the private stairway that she once used.

LOCHES

While in Tours, the royal city of Anne, we went to Loches, where the towers of the château

Oratory of the Duchess Anne.—Château of Loches.

overlook the plains, as Mont St. Michel keeps guard over Anne's fair province of Brittany. A city of itself, the château of Loches has its tale of joy and woe, religious devotion, and tyrannical cunning, but before we came to the room so intimately connected with Anne, another character claimed our attention. Although hardly a person was stirring on that summer's day of our visit to the château, our thoughts went back to 1509, when the streets of the city were alive with guards, archers, and the restless mob anxious to see Ludovico Il Moro riding to prison, where for nine years he was kept in a loathsome cell until released by death. We saw this cell where the active Ludovico, deprived of exercise, sought an outlet for his feelings by covering the walls of his prison with inscriptions and decorations, but the bitterness of his words show that this recreation was little solace to the proud spirit.

It was pleasanter to return to the daylight and rest awhile under the famous chestnut-tree planted by Francis I, Claude's husband, before our attention was brought back to the queen-duchess by climbing a turret staircase to her oratory. Again in the exquisitely

carved chapel we saw the *cordelière* and the ermine, unmistakable proof that we were in the room where our Anne must so often have brought her troubles to God.

The next winter, 1505–1506, Anne for once, perhaps for the only time in her life, was in perfect accord with the doctors, since they insisted that the king, on account of his delicate health, should retire to Blois.

At first the change of air seemed beneficial, and the happy family of three—Anne, Claude, and Louis—joyously spent the feast of the passover together. But soon after, the king had a collapse, followed by a fever which lasted several days, during which he could neither sleep nor take nourishment. In his delirium he called for Claude, and for his sword to go to battle. Night and day the queen watched by his bedside, hiding her fears under a calm exterior. Anxiety was general throughout the kingdom and extended even to Italy, for the king was much beloved by those who knew him. High and low alike crowded into the churches to implore God's help. The people of Paris prayed to St. Geneviève and had her image

borne through the streets, as was the custom, but Anne de Bretagne naturally addressed her petitions to a Breton Virgin, the one shrined at Notre Dame de Folgoët, and promised herself to make a pilgrimage there during the year. In moments of consciousness the king revived sufficiently to make his will and express his entire trust in God, after which the end seemed so near that the last sacrament was administered.

It is notable that in his will, which he supposed would be the last act of his life, he did not fail to honor Anne. He showed his confidence in her by making her guardian of Francis, with a royal council for conference.

The prayers of the queen and of the nation prevailed, for the king rallied, and as soon as Louis was convalescent Anne hastened to fulfill her vow by a journey of several months into her native land. During this time the king held court at Blois, surrounded by his principal counselors, having with him Claude, then five years old, and Louise of Savoy and her two children, Marguerite and Francis. The progress of the queen-duchess was a veritable triumph; several princes and a number of French

lords accompanied her, and a great retinue of Bretons. In greeting, the cities hung out gay banners and offered open hospitality, clergy and peasantry, rich and poor, honored her, not only for herself but as the daughter of the duke who governed them so many years. Her visit was prolonged until it had lasted five months, the longest she ever made, and enabled her to hold a meeting of the States General and put in order the affairs of her Breton land.

In midsummer her majesty arrived at Notre Dame de Folgoët and completed her vow. The legend around which this great church was built is that in the fourteenth century there lived in the neighboring forest an idiot called Folgoët, or "forest fool." In Brittany idiots are looked upon as gifts from God, and as this one went around repeating, "*Ave Maria,*" when he begged for bread, he appealed to the superstitions of the people. After his death there grew from amidst the grasses of his grave a pure white lily with *Ave Maria* written in gold upon each leaf. For a month it was in blossom, to the wonder of the crowds that thronged to see it. At the end of that time Jean de Montfort

ordered a chapel to Our Lady built there to commemorate his victory over Charles of Blois at the battle of Auray. For this church Anne, in token of gratitude for the king's recovery, appointed three choir-boys and a sacristan and added a third tower. The arms of Brittany and of France are displayed on one of the keystones of the vaulting, and on the lintels of the doors are ermines with the motto, "*A ma vie.*"

This motto was first taken by Duke John IV, to show that he had conquered Brittany, and would defend it even at the cost of his life—"*A ma vie.*"

At Dinan she stayed in the château built on a height by the Breton dukes, now a ruin except for "Queen Anne's tower." This is one hundred feet high and of four stories, reached by a winding staircase. The guard-room is a museum, and out of it there is a little room which was the oratory of the Duchess Anne, and a sculptured seat called her "armchair." Two years afterward the queen gave to Dinan a clock for the great church-tower, *tour de l'horloge.*

Near Dinan the foresters of the lord of La Hunaudaye, the terror of the neighborhood,

stopped her and conducted her to a formidable castle into the presence of their lord. Instead of collecting toll of Anne of Brittany, as was his custom from those who passed through his domains, he gave her a royal welcome and a splendid banquet, at which a roasted calf, standing with an orange in its mouth, was the crowning feature.

At Les Neven, St. Pol, and Morlaix the duchess was received with great magnificence. In the churchyard of St. Dominick, at Morlaix, a genealogical tree depicted her descent from Conan Meriadec. On top of this tree a young girl welcomed the queen in a touching speech. Then the city presented her with a ship of gold studded with rare jewels, and with a tame ermine, white as snow, wearing a collar of precious stones. After being quiet a few minutes under Anne's caresses, the little animal ran along her arm into her bosom and frightened her. Lord Rohan, who stood near, seeing the queen start, said, "Do not be frightened, madam; this is your own coat of arms."

By this time, the king, beginning to find Anne's absence a long one and wishing for her

return, sent for her to meet him at Anjou, but she was detained at Morlaix with an inflammation over the left eye, which caused her much pain. Immediately she thought of the finger of St. John preserved at the church of St. Jean-du-Doigt, near Morlaix, and thereupon wrote to the canons to bring her, without delay, the finger of the apostle. The rectors assembled solemnly in the church and bore the treasure upon a rich litter on their shoulders. Scarcely had they started when the carriage broke and had to stop for repairs. When these were finished the finger had disappeared. After long searching, accompanied by fervent prayers, it was found in its accustomed place. When the envoys of the queen in fear appeared before her, Anne understood that she had been arrogant in her demands and showed her penitence by going on foot to the shrine. After the queen had finished her devotions and received communion, the bishop of Nantes took the holy relic, showed it to those assembled, and then placed it upon the queen's eye. For the cure that followed the duchess left many gifts,—a crystal case for the relic, a communion cup,

chandeliers and incense burners with the arms of Brittany and France, and money for building the church.

Every year on the twenty-fourth of June thousands of pilgrims come to dip their hands in the holy water of "the fountain of the Duchess Anne" in the churchyard, and to see in the procession the model of the ship *Cordelière,* which was built in the near-by port.

To call back this scene of her pilgrimage, one of the sweetest scenes in her life, we should visit St. Jean-du-Doigt at the hour of her coming, the hour of matins. Then the church, at the foot of a pretty valley traversed by a little stream, is just receiving the faint light of morning. On the north we have a glimpse of the bay and of wide fields, while the stillness that lies over the village shows that the inhabitants are asleep. A visit like this would enable us to look into the very soul of Anne, as in this peaceful hour she spoke alone to her God, who never failed to give her strength for the trials she must meet.

Dinan.—Château of the Duchess Anne.

CHAPTER XIII

CLAUDE'S BETROTHAL

Ever constant in the mind and heart of the duchess was the desire and purpose to keep Brittany independent of France; and it was not until after her death that, by the marriage of her daughter Claude to Francis I, king of France, the actual union of these two countries was realized. Foreseeing that she might not leave a male heir, and that Claude would bring, as a dowry to her husband, the duchy of Brittany, the queen made every effort to unite her daughter to the house of Austria. When Claude was scarcely eighteen months old the terms of her alliance had been discussed, and Philip the Handsome, archduke of Austria, son of Maximilian, had sent ambassadors to ask the hand of the child for his young son Charles, the grandson of Maximilian. In the month of August, 1501, a contract of marriage was drawn up containing this clause: "The king and queen, by the authority vested in them,

promise, on their word as king and queen, to make and bring about by every means, that their daughter, Madame Claude, having arrived at the age of puberty, take for her husband and spouse M. de Luxembourg."

The queen showed the ambassadors every honor, giving them a splendid banquet followed by a masquerade ball with French, Spanish, German, and Italian dances. A masque represented the alliance of the European powers against Turkey. Sire de Néry, one of the nobles, entered the hall dressed as a Turk, saluted the fair maidens of each country, one after another, until all had refused to dance with him, and then, forlorn and disappointed, withdrew without securing a partner.

Near the end of November, 1501, the Archduke Philip himself and Juana, his wife, crossed France and were received with much ceremony at the château of Blois. The magnificent new wing had just been finished, and, to add to its appointments, the queen sent for her silver plate in the château of Nantes, and caused it to be engraved with her coat-of-arms and made to look as good as new. The queen-duchess upon her throne awaited the arch-

duchess, then rose, took two steps forward, and embraced her. Next little Claude, only two years old, was brought in to be presented, but the child was so frightened by the strange surroundings that she began to cry lustily, and before it was possible to give even the customary greetings *Dieu Garde,* Claude had to be taken away by her governess. At this time, as letters show, Louis did not disagree with the cherished wish of his wife in regard to this marriage. But the conditions of the betrothal of Claude to the grandson of Maximilian were such that it is not strange that the king was persuaded not to carry them out, since Milan, Brittany, and Burgundy were assigned as the portion of Claude, and this would have alienated half the kingdom of France.

The king's narrow escape from death in 1505 impressed him and his counselors to provide for his succession. There was great dissatisfaction even in Brittany over the prospect of Claude's marriage to a foreign prince. It was the talk in the churches, on the streets, and in the taverns, until finally a petition of the people was presented to a council, which decided that the king might "save his country"

by repealing the treaty of Blois. After this there was no other course open to him, and at the beginning of the year 1506 he signed an ordinance declaring "that he wished the betrothal of Claude and Francis for the good, safety, and maintenance of the affairs of the kingdom." To strengthen his act, he assembled secretly the captains of the guard and had them take a solemn oath on the Bible and the cross "to serve Claude and see that she did not leave the kingdom." Having done this, Louis then had his *Bretonne* to reckon with, and it proved no easy matter, for, still bent upon the alliance with the house of Austria, she did not cease to importune him. But in this case he could not be influenced even by the queen, disappointed and displeased though she were. In the beginning of their discussion he refused her in a jesting way, saying that he had decided "to ally his mice with the rats of his barn." She answered impatiently, "Evidently you think that every mother is in conspiracy to treat her daughter ill!" Louis replied in fervent but figurative language: "Which is better for your daughter, to command little Brittany under the authority of the

kings of France, or, as the wife of a powerful king, to rejoice with him in the benefits of a flourishing kingdom? Would you prefer the pack-saddle of a donkey to the pillion of a thoroughbred?" Far from yielding to these arguments, Anne continued to insist upon having her way. Then it was that Louis repeated to her the fable of the roebuck to whom God had given horns but was obliged to remove them because she wished to use them against a stag.

For this resistance to the queen-duchess Louis cannot be blamed. Surely not by any of his countrymen, for what would have become of France if Claude had married Charles of Luxembourg and Brittany been joined to the immense estate under his scepter as Charles V of Spain? Although finally forced to yield, Anne was never reconciled, and held a secret hope that something would happen to prevent the consummation of the marriage. Happily for her she did not have to witness it, for it did not occur until March 15, 1514, two months after Anne's death. Brantôme says, "It never would have taken place during the life of Anne de Bretagne."

But the trial of witnessing the betrothal of her daughter to the future king of France was not spared the queen-duchess. On May 14, 1506, the king, being at Plessis-les-Tours, seated in the grand salon in royal state, gave a public audience to the deputies of the kingdom. M. Thomas Brico, a doctor of Paris, was the speaker. He referred to the king's illness, with thankfulness for his recovery, and to his wise administration by which he had lessened the taxes, reformed the courts, placed good judges everywhere, and brought the kingdom into a better condition than was ever known in the past, claiming, that for these and other causes, he deserved to be called "*Le Bon Roi, Louis XII, Père du Peuple.*" Then Brico and the delegates knelt, as Brico said: "Sire, we have come here under your good pleasure to make you a request for the general good of your kingdom. Your very humble subjects beseech you that it please you to give madam your only daughter in marriage to M. Francis here present, who is a real Frenchman." At the close of the speech the hall rang with applause, and the king was moved to tears as he

accepted the glorious title "Father of the People."

Six days later, on the feast of the Ascension, in the great hall of the château of Plessis-les-Tours, the nuptials of Claude of France with Francis of Angoulême took place, the young prince being twelve years old while Claude was not quite eight. When the fact of the betrothal was inevitably settled, Anne showed her strength of character, as she always did in trying situations, by making the best of it and failing in no particular in the part that devolved upon her. She herself, followed by a numerous retinue, conducted her daughter into the presence of the cardinal of Amboise, where Claude was solemnly affianced to the Count d'Angoulême.

The queen's gift to her daughter was one million *écus* of gold, with the additional promise that "if there should be a male child, she would give him the duchy of Brittany." The king gave her, as her dowry, the counties of Blois and Asti, and other possessions for herself and heirs. In the fêtes that followed there was a tournament for Francis and the young

princes of the blood. This must have been a brave sight, for they were in the freshness of youth and bore small lances especially made for them. The king acted as godfather to Francis, who carried off the palm.

In the queen's opposition to the marriage with Francis there was another and perhaps deeper reason than love of country. The mother-heart knew that her daughter would never be happy with her gay cousin and his corrupt court. Once Anne expressed this feeling to Louis. "Poor Claude is lame and the duke of Valois would not care for her." To which Louis, with less perception, replied, "If he does not admire her for her beauty, he will love her for her mind and disposition." But the queen was right, for Claude became, as her mother had prophesied, a neglected wife. She wept over the immorality in the midst of which she had to live, and, save for Katherine of Aragon, found few sympathetic friends. Gentle, modest, and pure, she gave her whole affection to her husband, to be met only with neglect, harshness, and inconstancy. Aware of his excesses and infidelity, her whole life was one of suffering and ended at the early age of twenty-

Claude, Daughter of Louis XII and Anne.

five in the Palace of Blois. The king, who was absent from her at the time, received the news without feeling and arranged no ceremonies for her interment. Through her three sons the succession was assured, and in the hearts of her people she left an enduring memory of sweetness and charity. To-day, as then, she is called "the good Queen Claude."

Imagine the feeling in Austria when the news reached them that a second contract was broken by the sovereigns of France. In vain the archduke sent a message drawn up in Latin by five Flemish councilors, in which they asked "if the king and the queen had not committed perjury in failing to keep their promise." But the only answer was that "the ceremony had already taken place."

Anne knew that the marriage of Claude and Francis would irrevocably annex Brittany to France, and that the cherished desire of her life to keep her duchy independent was probably gone forever; but she was too great a woman to indulge in recriminations, and, although secretly holding the old wish that something might happen to prevent this union, she refrained from talking about it and thus vex-

ing the king. Shortly after, however, she went to Brittany, doubtless to relieve her overstrained feelings. At any rate Anne's visit became so prolonged that the king grew uneasy, and Cardinal d'Amboise, fearing an estrangement between the two, wrote anxiously for her return:

THE CARDINAL GEORGE D'AMBOISE TO THE QUEEN

MADAME:

How very happy I am that you say you will employ the greatest diligence possible to return. Nevertheless, Madame, I am grieved that you do not state definitely the time when you will leave there, for I do not know how to reply to the king, who is in great perplexity about it. Might it please God to allow me to be near you to counsel you. . . .

Madame, His Majesty has intrusted me with letters that the king of England has written you, and has charged me to write you to send him such men as will seem good to you. . . .

Madame, I do not know of anything else to tell you except that I regret with all my heart that you and the king do not speak frankly with each other, for wicked people are gossiping, which greatly grieves your faithful servitors and those of His Majesty, and what I say about it, Madame, I take it upon my soul as I expect salvation.

Madame, the king is returning to Blois with Madame your daughter, and he will have

Madame d'Angoulême accompany him there. They will come back to Amboise by water.

In closing, Madame, I beseech you to consider me always as your most humble servitor. Praying our Lord to give you a happy and long life.

To Madame, the 17th day of September.

Your very humble and very obedient subject and servitor,

G. Cardinal d'Amboise.

Upon the back:

To the Queen, my Sovereign Lady.

If there ever was a quarrel between Louis and Anne, who so well understood each other, this was the time. When the queen came back, Louis, who was goodness itself, received her lovingly, for "Louis had pardoned his *Bretonne* before she even asked his forgiveness."

CHAPTER XIV

THE COURT OF ANNE

THE COURT AND HOUSEHOLD OF THE QUEEN-DUCHESS

Anne of Brittany has the distinction of being the first queen to hold a court of her own. It was not only the scene of royal functions, the meeting-place of the French nobility and of foreign ambassadors, but it was also, as Brantôme says, "a beautiful school for ladies," where the queen superintended their education and marriage and looked after their minds as well as their bodies. As she formed her ladies into a definite organization, she may be said truly to have started the first club for women in the world. Although differing in many ways from the societies of to-day, being broader and more inclusive, her coterie was not unlike them in many respects. Her ladies met regularly, with her as their head, engaged in handwork, like our church sewing-societies, and lis-

tened to readings from their poets, and to music, both instrumental and vocal, not unlike the program of the modern clubs.

As Petrarch has been called the first modern man, so Anne might be called the first modern woman.

Early in the reign of Charles VIII, soon after her coronation, Anne instituted her court. This was a great step in the advancement of women, for never before had the ladies of the nobility been invited to court.

The change from the monotony of domestic life in castles of dull Gothic towns, while the men were much away in the pursuit of war or hunting, to the excitement and gayety of a royal court was a great boon to them. Perhaps it pleased them more than it did the husbands, who had to provide the expensive wardrobes in which they appeared, but the men did not fail to respond, and gave to the women a new and honored place beside their lords.

At the court the queen presided with the majesty and grandeur of any king, and gave audience to foreign ambassadors. "Such was her beauty, eloquence, and majesty that all went away from her presence full of admira-

tion and satisfaction." A proficiency in foreign languages added much to her success, for she tried to speak a few words to each ambassador in his own tongue. In this connection an anecdote has been passed around by her historians, of a teacher who once trespassed upon her dignity by what seemed to him and the king a practical joke. On one occasion, knowing that a Spanish ambassador was to be presented to her, Anne asked M. de Grignaux, her instructor, to teach her a few words of Spanish, and he, in a moment of mischief, taught her some expressions that were not *comme il faut.* Then he had her rehearse them to the king, who, without failing to enjoy the joke, enlightened her and reprimanded the jester. As refinement was not as delicate in those days as now, the incident should not be judged too harshly, but it was entirely out of place in dealing with one of such majesty as the duchess.

This occurred in the reign of Louis, who honored Anne even more than Charles, if possible, for "no prince ever came to the court of France that Louis did not bid to do her reverence."

To realize how Queen Anne lived, and how her court was made up, we must know some-

thing of the customs of the sovereigns of the time and understand certain terms no longer in use in France. *L'hôtel* is the name of the home of the king, and means the organized service for the needs of the sovereign,—his bed, clothing, nourishment, and the luxuries of his life. The hôtel had many departments, such as the kitchen, the stables, the wine-cellars, and the bed-chamber, with a superintendent and assistants for each department. Attached to the hôtel was the chapel, with its services. Always there was a distinction between those of high rank and the common people who took charge of the material needs. The king had also his own doctors, surgeons, and a military organization of the élite of the land. The most important personage of the hôtel was the *grand maître,* always one of the great lords, and he it was who appointed the other officers. Under him were several *maîtres d'hôtel,* who presided at solemn festivities and led processions, with trumpeters going before them. The grand equerry was everywhere prominent, and sometimes had as many as one hundred and twenty assistants. He was near the king in battle and carried the royal sword in proces-

sions. The bed-chamber held a distinct place in the hôtel, and its grand chamberlain had many under him for various services, such as assisting the king to rise, dress, and retire. These *valets de chambre* formed an ancient and honorable body. One of them was ever within hearing of the monarch, a post of great honor sought after by artists, writers, and nobles.

The highest officers in the kingdom were the chancellor, the grand chamberlain, the grand master, and the constable, and the last was the highest of all, next to the king. Those in any way connected with the sovereign—grand officers [1] of the crown, members of the council, princes of the blood, officers and ladies of the queen—belonged to the court. Naturally this made the court a floating population, extremely numerous and always growing, living by benefits from the crown, by pensions, by offices, and by all sorts of privileges. What the king had the queen had also, except an army, and, in addition, her own Breton guard and her ladies and maids-of-honor.

[1] Affairs of government and administration were deliberated upon by councils,—the councils of the king and the privy council, composed of princes and nobles and presided over, the first by the king and the second by the chancellor.

From her household accounts, which are still in existence, we know the different members who made up her establishment and their salaries; some were paid as high as eighty-eight dollars a month, like the *grand maître d'hôtel* and knight of honor or chancellor, while artists received from two hundred and twenty-five dollars to twelve hundred and fifty dollars a year. Anne loved music and had in her service instrumental players, such as the lute-player; the player of the rebec, a three-stringed violin; player of the dumb spinet or manichord, who received about seven dollars a month; and seven singers at twenty-two dollars a month. There were eight equerries, six bread-stewards, and six meat-stewards at about thirty-five dollars a month; four house-marshals, at thirteen dollars a month; six butlers, two of whom had charge of the linen, and seven provisioners at fifteen dollars a month; eight stewards for the servants at twelve dollars each, and eight more at ten dollars and fifty cents each, one of them the bread-maker at eight dollars and eighty cents. Also cooks, kitchen-maids, clerks, fruit-stewards, dish-washers, chamber men and maids, valets of the

queen and of her maids-of-honor, stewards of the wardrobe and of tapestries and rooms, doctors, and apothecaries were on the payroll. To her own doctor, Olivier Laurens, she gave forty-four dollars a month.

To gather a group of ladies and maidens about her, she inquired of the gentlemen of the court if they had daughters, and, if they had, she asked them to come to her. When her wish was known, many availed themselves of the opportunity and "she turned no one away." It is interesting to see traces of the origin of this institution of Anne's in feudal times, when possessors of a fief brought girls to the château of the baron to enter some department of service, and the way in which she enlarged and ennobled this old and insignificant custom reveals the greatness of her mind. While queen of Charles VIII she had sixteen dames and eighteen *demoiselles,* whose salaries varied from fourteen dollars to eighty-eight dollars a month; and later, when she married Louis XII, the number was increased to one hundred. Her daughter Claude, queen of the next reign, had even a larger number. She taught them to be wise and virtuous, trained them in em-

broidery and in love of poetry, and, when they were old enough, married them off either to nobles or to those of their own rank.

The maids-of-honor included in their number daughters of the noblest families of France and Brittany, as Charlotte of Aragon, Anne of Bourbon, Anne of Foix, dame de Montpensier, and Anne of Rohan, a cousin of the queen. Some were great beauties, especially Jeanne Chabot and Blanche Montberon. To maintain among her women a pure life, the queen founded for them her order of chivalry and gave the most worthy a decoration, a collar studded with precious stones in the form of a *cordelière,* with the admonition "to live always a holy and chaste life and to keep in mind the cords and fetters of Jesus Christ." In company with her maidens she spent a part of her leisure in making tapestries and embroideries. One of these pieces, a cope with pearl embroidery designed for Pope Leo X, was preserved in St. Denis until the French Revolution.

To those brought to her at an early age she was a veritable mother, and won from them true filial affection. She took care of them when ill, often rewarded them generously, and

when they grew up made advantageous marriages for them. As an instance of the motherly care of the queen, it is related that when Anne de Foix, one of her maids-of-honor, fell ill, Anne bought cloth and made wrappers trimmed with fur to keep her warm at night, and when one of the humble maids of the palace lost her mother, Anne provided mourning for her. To another maid, the grandmother of Brantôme, she gave crimson velvet and violet satin for costumes.

In her careful supervision of these maids she had them come into her presence, and, with true delicacy of feeling, took aside any that had an awkward bearing or were not neatly or modestly dressed and advised and admonished them. She looked at the work of each one, and if there was any fault in it, corrected it; or, if the lack of progress showed laziness in the maid, she censured her.

As regards their conduct, she was as careful as if they had been her own daughters. Gentlemen were not allowed to talk with them alone, and were charged to converse with them only upon virtuous subjects. If any gentleman wished to speak of love, it must be with a view

to marriage; otherwise he had read to him a lesson which he did not soon forget, "for the wise princess did not wish her house to be open to a group of improper persons." Anne of Brittany did not overlook the lighter side of life and the need of youth for pleasure. Accordingly her maids had hours of recreation and participated in festivals, walked or sat in groups in the gardens, visited the homes of approved friends, and enjoyed lutes, guitars, spinets, and other musical instruments in vogue at that time. Besides singing in their rooms, which she asked them to do "modestly and in a Christian spirit," she had them sing with her often, but she always chose the psalms of David or the odes of the dead queen of Navarre. For their reading she selected either the Holy Scriptures or history, and did not want them to read other books.

The lot of those near her was most pleasant; they shared in her joys and well-being; the beds in which they slept, the chariots in which they rode, the furniture they used, were carefully provided by the queen. But the supreme service to her maids was, in her own estimation, the arranging of a happy alliance, and her suc-

cess in that line soon made her renowned as a matchmaker. In this rôle she worked with all her energy, and let neither money nor difficulties stand in her way. Generally the queen gave about two thousand five hundred dollars to her maids as a marriage dowry, although there are instances which show that this was sometimes a personal sacrifice. During the war in Italy, when she wanted money for the dowry of three of her maids, Isabeau de Saffre, Marie de Sainte-Amadour, and Nicole de Tournon, she secured it by taking to the banker's a cut diamond which she did not redeem until two years later.

Through Brantôme's[1] chatty work, "The Book of the Ladies,"[2] we can come almost directly in touch with these maids-of-honor, for one of them was his grandmother, Mme. la Sénéschale, in whose cabinet he found an old

[1] Pierre de Bourdeilles, or Brantôme, as he is called, was born in 1537 of an ancient and honorable family in Gascony. He lived most of his life at court and has been called the "*valet de chambre* of history."

[2] His "*Dames Illustres*" includes Anne of Brittany, Catherine de Medici, Marie Stuart, Elizabeth of France, Marguerite of Navarre, and others. The original title was "*Premier et Second Livre des Dames*," changed by a translator to "*Vies des Dames Galantes* and *Vies des Dames Illustres*."

history with an account of Anne. Another was his aunt, Mme. de Dampierre, who from the age of eight was brought up at Anne's court and afterwards became lady of honor to a queen of Henry VIII. From them and other elderly persons whom he knew,—he himself had seen Anne's portrait from life,—he received direct accounts, and all agreed that she was "beautiful, agreeable, virtuous, wise, and very charitable; with only one fault, a hasty temper, which made her quick to revenge and slow to pardon one who offended her." But she always kept her rank, her grandeur, and supremacy, and made herself so trusted that "no one ever found anything to say against her."

Moreover, the loving heart of the queen enfolded the children of her household, and for them she established a school where they were trained and educated, another instance of her foreshadowing of modern institutions. She not only founded the school, but, in some cases, notably that of the children of one of her physicians, helped to defray personal expenses.

For the little ones about her, called her "children of honor," she furnished sumptuous

costumes of velvet, and her pages wore a livery with her colors. She gave them presents on New Year's Day, Easter Day, and Innocents' Day, on condition always that they had been to confession. From these children she demanded the same obedience as from their elders, and the least fault was severely punished. An amusing instance of this is noted in connection with the two pages who rode the mules that bore the queen's litter, M. Bourdeilles, father of Brantôme, and M. d'Estrées. Brantôme tells the story as he heard it from his father: If the mules bearing the litter did not take about the same gait, of course it was not pleasant for the queen. On this particular occasion in question, one of the mules broke into a lively gait and forced the other to keep up, so that the queen was badly jostled. Anne called out, "Bourdeilles, you shall be whipped, you and your companion!" Each tried to lay the blame on the other, but she accepted no excuses and had them flogged.

With all her majesty, Anne of Brittany was democratic, for she gave to the servants of her house, and of the king's also, the same thoughtful attention as to her maids-of-honor.

Those in her charge, of whatever birth or rank, came to her in their troubles and always found sympathy and help. Gifts were frequently added to their wages, and when old age overtook the faithful ones, she gave them a regular pension, according to their age, needs, or rank, a forecast of modern methods truly remarkable. In case of death she frequently paid the burial expenses or gave money to those left behind. Nor did she fail to arrange marriages for them, as the following characteristic letter shows.

To M. de Sainctbonnet:

M. de Sainctbonnet,

The king will write you presently concerning the marriages of the son of Monsieur de Menou, my counselor and master-in-ordinary of the household, with the daughter of Madame de Monthelon, your wife, and of Lois de Fau with the daughter of the said lord of Menou.

And because these marriages seem to me reasonable from every point of view, and that you would not be able to arrange better ones, I have wished to write about them. I pray that you and your said wife will indeed wish to consent, and to grant and sanction the said marriages in such a manner that they will successfully come to pass, and you will do me a very great and marked favor which I shall hold deep in my

memory when you require anything of me. May God have you in his keeping.

Written at Blois, the 19th day of January.

ANNE.

Such a reputation did Anne of Brittany acquire for training young women, that the sovereigns of Europe besought her to obtain a suitable bride for themselves or their lords. One of the most interesting examples is that of Ladislau II, king of Poland, of Bohemia, and of Hungary, who, when a widower, sent his ambassadors to arrange an alliance for himself. He asked for a relative of the king of France, and out of her maids-of-honor Anne suggested two princesses of the house of Foix,—Anne Candale and Germaine Phœbus,—nieces of the king, whose beauty is said to have been so great that "they were known the world over." After some hesitation Anne de Foix was chosen. It was not without deep emotion and many tears that the young girl left the court and her companions for a king in a far-off country. Anne is said to have loved her as a daughter and had her attended by a brilliant company of gentlemen and ladies. Bretagne, Anne's king at arms, was charged to write

faithfully of the journey and of the future home of the bride, and his accounts of the unhealthfulness of the climate and the poor health of the king frightened the queen so much that she sent a faithful servant with letters to the young princess.

But Ladislau, who had already written the queen a Latin letter, assured her of his health and that of the maiden. Moreover, he thanked her profoundly for having sent "so beautiful and perfect a princess." Alas! the ending of the brilliant union was sad; for the young wife, who never forgot the court of France, died ten months later at the birth of a son.

Germaine lost nothing by waiting, for she was chosen by Ferdinand, king of Spain, after the death of Queen Isabella, and in December, 1505, she was sent to Spain attended by a bishop, a chamberlain, a judge, and a notary. Louis wrote to the king of Spain, "We esteem her as our very dear and well-beloved daughter." Moreover, Louis transferred to Germaine his rights to Naples in what is known as the fourth treaty of Blois.

Another of these interesting maids-of-honor was an exile from Italy, Charlotte d'Aragon,

daughter of Frederick III, a king despoiled of Naples and Sicily. As her mother, niece of the wife of Louis XI, had been brought up at the court of France, she was treated with the respect due to a sovereign princess and became *demoiselle d'honneur* to Anne of Brittany under the name of "the princess of Tarente." She had her own household, modeled after that of the queen, with a governess, ladies-in-waiting, a chaplain, equerry, and stewards; also a litter, a mule, and several horses.

While growing up, the little Charlotte became a charming girl full of courage and wit, and famed at court for her liveliness and gayety. When, after the death of Charles VIII, the duchess left Paris to go to Nantes, she parted with the princess regretfully, and gave her, as a token of affection, a toilet-set of massive silver composed of a water-pitcher and basin, a cup, and a flask. When Cæsar Borgia tried to obtain Charlotte from her father, with the principality whose name she bore, the queen sustained them both in their refusal, and arranged a glorious match with Guy, sixteenth of the name, count of Laval, lord de la Roche, baron of Brittany. Evidently Anne felt that

the highest honor she could give her was an alliance with a noble Breton, and by this union Anne still kept at court this young woman whose wit and beauty every one admired, and at the same time added a powerful Breton knight to her own inner circle.

One of her maidens, called Rolandine, had a sad story. Although a cousin of the queen, she received no favors, for she was a daughter of the house of Rohan, who had served France instead of Brittany for many years. Left out of all matrimonial plans, while her companions were being married off, Rolandine at the age of thirty found a lover for herself. Called to account by the queen, she declared that they had only exchanged "a ring, a promise, and a kiss," but this was considered by her Majesty as a secret marriage, and the girl, unwilling to give up her choice, was sent back to her father. He shut her up for years in a château and never pardoned her until her lover was safely married. When nearly forty, Rolandine married her cousin, Pierre de Rohan.

Among the most beautiful ladies of the court were the three daughters of Admiral Graville, of a family so ancient that it was said, "There

was a sire in Graville before there was a king in France." The eldest, Louise, married Jacques de Vendôme; the second daughter, Jeanne, married Charles d'Amboise, nephew of the cardinal and commander in the French army. She was one of the four favorite ladies who attended Jeanne de France, and, like her mistress, was exemplary in her life. The youngest daughter was Anne, who eloped with Pierre de Balzac, a scamp without money, but she afterward was pardoned by her father and placed by the queen in the house of Claude of France.

The twofold reign of Anne of Brittany occupied twenty-two years out of her short life of thirty-seven, and in all this period the pleasantest scene in her daily life was with her maidens, when, seated in their midst, she wrought a beautiful piece of tapestry while Jean Marot read aloud one of his own poems, or her minstrels charmed with sweet music. In everything she was herself an example of what she wanted women to be, in chastity, industry, benevolence, wedded happiness, and religious devotion.

How sad it is, then, to see in the next reign

the degeneration of the court! But the seed of progress and virtue that Anne, as queen of France, had sown did not die, but sprang up to blossom two centuries later, when Madame de Maintenon, an uncrowned queen, held sway in the *Hôtel de Rambouillet.*

CHAPTER XV

WRITERS AND ARTISTS AT THE COURT OF ANNE

Although there are no great names in literature in the days of Anne, the writers of the time having been called "twinkling luminaries," doubtless she prepared the way and helped to produce the geniuses who came later; and the fact that great genius did not exist was the reason Anne did not produce an age like the Elizabethan one of England. She encouraged learning and skill in all its forms, and was the precursor of the literary salon of Louis XIV, but the Renaissance was not yet fully born and the Dark Ages not entirely past.

The name best known to us is Philip de Commines (1447–1511), the "father of modern history," whose memoirs containing the histories of Louis XI and Charles VIII, kings of France, and of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, were written during Anne's life, though not printed until after her death. He was a

nobleman of Gascony, and was one of those nearest to Charles VIII in his Italian campaign.

Others in the literary circle who received the patronage of the king and queen and improved the language and literary taste of the period were poets, mystery writers, and historians.

Among the writers who lived at court there was one Jean le Maire of Belgium, who was born three years before Anne. Through his education at Paris and residence in different countries he became cosmopolitan, and at one time took the title of "secretary and biographer of the very high and very excellent princess Anne de Bretagne." He is best known by a book with the singular name "Illustrations of Gaul and Curiosities of Troy." He has the sprightliness of the Middle Ages, the mysticism of Germany, and the learning of the new philosophers. Although often obscure, and an incomplete writer, he is rather remarkable, and sometimes gives finely expressed glimpses of Nature, as for example:

> And with pity perhaps
> They will scatter green branches,
> Both flowers and violets upon my tomb,
> When everything is at rest,
> And when the moon is shining.

In those days writers often produced both poetry and prose, and poets were frequently chroniclers of the king, as St. Gelais and Jean d'Auton. Another one who chronicled events in the king's life was Claude Seyssel of Savoy and the university of France. In 1493 he received a pension from Charles VIII, who had him at court in the last years of his reign. In later life he became archbishop of Turin.

Octavien de Saint Gelais, as a poet at the court of Anne, translated Greek and Latin authors; as historian he published praises of the king, and wrote of the victory of Louis against the Venetians. His principal work, "The Great Monarchy of France," appeared in 1519, but was compiled at the time of Louis XII. In this book he stated his idea of the monarchy as a protecting power and the king as the father of the people, in opposition to Machiavelli's ideas of the monarch as an absolute king.

Jean d'Auton, who lived at court the last fourteen years of Anne's life, as historiographer of Louis, excelled in military subjects, but as a poet wrote verses exalting women, and especially Anne, "the good, generous, beautiful, and prudent queen of honor, a pattern for the good."

Jean Marot was *valet de chambre* of the duchess, and was called "poet of the magnanimous Anne of Brittany." He did not cease to exalt the virtues and liberality of the duchess, and wrote a long poem on her convalescence after her illness in 1512. He also went to Italy with Louis at Anne's request, and the "*Voyage à Gènes*" was the result.

Another poet who was at the height of his power in Anne's time was Jean Bouchet, an example of whose fantastic work shows some of the whimsical writings of the period.

> Faulce fortune, fragile fantastique,
> Folle, fumeuse, folliant, folliatique,
> Favorisant follastres follement,
> Furieuse femme furibondique,
> Faisant frémir felonneux fortifiques,
> Fortifiant faintifs folz faulsement. . . .

The poet of the mysteries, Pierre Gringoire, was the herald-at-arms of the duke of Lorraine. He owes his celebrity to Victor Hugo, who made him one of the characters in "Notre Dame de Paris," although he does not belong to the time of Louis XI, as there represented, but to the three succeeding kings. Many of the mysteries were given at the expense of the guilds, Grin-

goire writing the verses and Jean Marchand arranging the decorations and costumes.

With her arduous tasks it is not surprising to find a long list of those who served as Anne's secretaries. There was the poet Lavigne, who wrote of the Italian wars, and Faustus Andrelinus, who came from Rome to the University of Paris as professor of letters and mathematics. Other Italians flocked to her court, among them Conti, who presented to the queen a poem on the city of Paris, and a geometrician named David d'Italie.

Learning seemed to be in the air. Her confessor, Antoine Dufour, made a translation of the Bible in French and composed a history of illustrious ladies. Even Jean Meschinot of Brittany, one of Anne's *Maîtres d'Hôtel,* was a mediocre poet.

Anne loved and encouraged scribes, illuminators, and painters, who were employed by her, some for the execution of manuscripts, others for pictures and portraits for which she had a veritable passion. A school of French artists, skilled in every way, was formed at court under the happy influence of Anne and her two husbands.

Jean Bourdichon, painter, was especially favored by Anne. He was *valet de chambre* of Charles VIII, and a painter in official capacity to the four kings, Louis XI, Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I. He was one of the most skilful and versatile artists of his time, painting pictures of history, miniatures, portraits, panoramas of cities, banners, standards, and armorial bearings. Born in 1457, he figured in the expense accounts in the year 1484, with the title, "painter to the king." It is that year that he received nine hundred pounds for having painted forty pictures representing the knights of the order of St. Michael, commencing with the founder, Louis XI, for whom Bourdichon had executed many different kinds of paintings.

In 1491 he painted, for the queen, models for her money in Brittany—twelve different kinds of gold and silver coinage representing the city and château of Nantes in varied designs and colors. Many times did Anne have recourse to the talent of this versatile artist. In November, 1492, she paid him fifty livres of the money of Tours, which enabled him to build a house to recompense him for having made and illumined

several stories which were destined for her. Her first husband, Charles VIII, also ordered him to paint a great number of pictures. Among others there were four lifelike portraits of Charles himself in bust and full length, one of Anne, and one of her cousin, the princess of Tarente. There is to-day in the Louvre a portrait by Bourdichon of Charles Orlando.

In 1507, when François de Paule died at the convent of Minimes at Plessis-les-Tours, the queen ordered Bourdichon to make a portrait of the holy man. Thus his prolific work kept up, even in the reign of Francis I, for in June, 1520, on the occasion of the interview of Francis I and Henry VIII on the field of the cloth of gold, it is still Jean de Bourdichon who is commissioned to paint a St. Michael with his emblems as well as the escutcheons, banners, and pavilions of that memorable occasion.

From Anne's accounts we learn that to Jehan Poyet, illuminator and historian, living at Tours, a certain sum was ordered to be paid for having made for the Book of Hours twenty-three rich stories, two hundred and sixty-one vignettes, and fifteen hundred verses by a contract entered into by him with the said lady,

which sum was paid to him by the present treasurer, in virtue of the said rôle, and command of which mention has been made, of which receipt for the same is dated the 29th day of August in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven.

Jean Perréal, or John of Paris (1455–1529), was painter for the three kings, Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I, and shared with Bourdichon the favors of Anne of Brittany. It was he who presented Jean le Maire of Belgium to the queen and recommended him as a writer. He accompanied Louis to Italy and painted scenes and incidents, but fell ill by the way and so had to give up his work. Anne had great confidence in him, and had him put her device on vessels of gold and silver. To him are attributed the emblems which adorned her funeral bed, and the miniatures which decorate the manuscript of her funeral services composed by the king-at-arms, Pierre Choque.

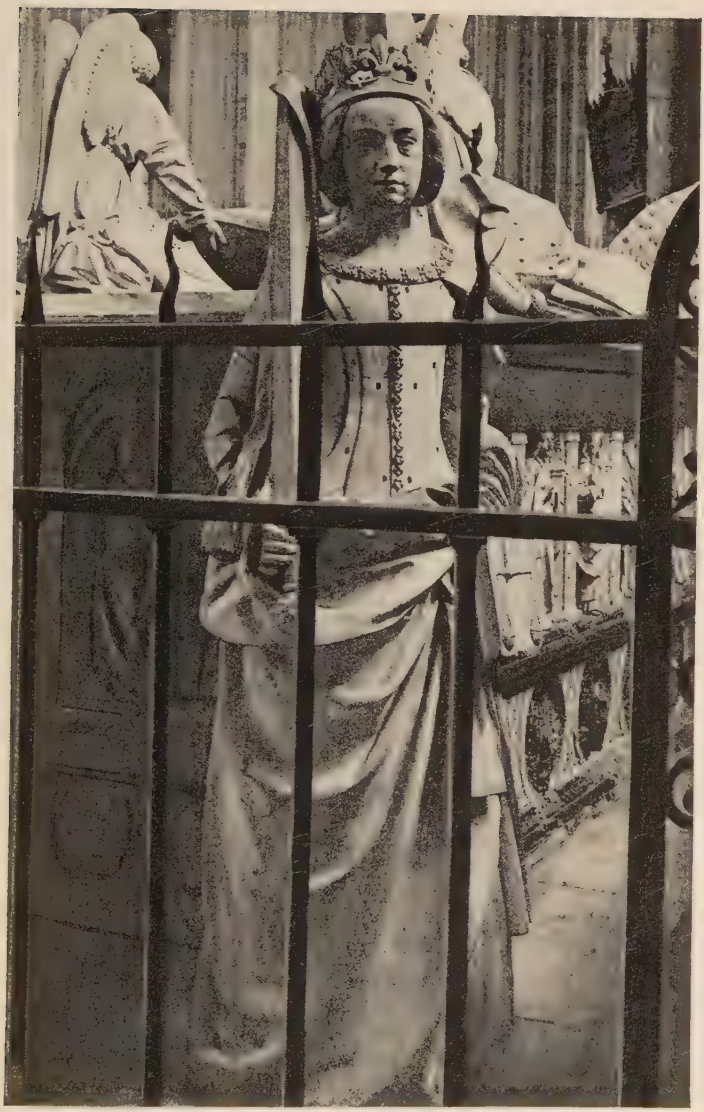
Anne appreciated Italian art to the full, but she was conservative and preferred traditional methods and French genius.

Solario, a pupil of Leonardo da Vinci, is the best known Italian artist who worked for Anne.

Although the master never came to France, Solario journeyed there and located at Blois, near the person of Louis XII, but none of the works he did there remain. One of his paintings, however, is in the Louvre. Other Italian artists at the court were Paganino and Modanino. The latter was knighted by Charles VIII and designed the tomb of that king.

Anne also employed those skilled men whom Charles had established at Tours. Michel Colomb, the most illustrious of the French school of sculpture, who had his atelier in that city, made fountains, tombs, and bas-reliefs. Born in Brittany in 1460, and encouraged in his youth by Duke Francis, Michel Colomb worked for Louis XI, Charles VIII, and other sovereigns of Europe. In 1507 Anne gave him the order to sculpture the figures which adorn the tombs of her father and mother. One bas-relief which he made in 1508 is now in the Louvre. It represents St. George fighting the dragon. A young woman who saved the saint by killing the dragon is dressed in a costume similar to that worn by Anne and one of her ladies.

Anne honored with her protection goldsmiths, stucco-workers, wood-carvers, gardeners, hew-



"Justice," from the Tomb of Anne's Father and Mother; probably the Portrait of Anne herself.

ers of stone, embroiderers, and architects. Some became celebrated, as Giocondo, designer of buildings, and Courtonne, whose genius is responsible for the *Hôtel de Ville.* The former, Giocondo, remained in France from 1495 to 1505, ten years of Anne's life. A clever writer, a learned man, an engineer and architect, he reconstructed the bridge of Notre Dame and was listened to as a counselor of art.

December 16, 1492, Robertet, secretary of Anne de Beaujeu, and one of the most polished and spiritual men at court, received thirty-five *livres tournois* for chains to be distributed among ladies whom the queen deemed worthy to join the order of the *Cordelière.* The emblem of this order consisted of a plaque of gold hung around the neck, formed by a double letter interlaced and done in red and white enamel. Every letter was intwined with a cord in black enamel. The plaque for the queen was formed of thirty-two double Roman A's.

A jeweler of Paris sold to the queen a cameo in three parts, one of the painting of the Virgin, the second that of St. Michael, and the third that of the face of Louis XI. Besides, there was a pelican studded with rubies and sur-

rounded by the cord of St. Michael, which precious jewel was given by Anne to Charles VIII as a New Year's present in 1492. Jean de Candida, a clever medal-maker, made medals of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Anne of Brittany.

One of the most skilful artisans, Viviers, was ordered to furnish a round chain of twisted gold. The best workers in tapestry were Lefèvre, Dol, Duhamel, and Boutet. They made the historical tapestries for the château of Amboise when the duke and duchess of Bourbon came in 1494 to visit the king and queen, and which were so elaborate that four thousand hooks were necessary to suspend them. On these tapestries were represented not only characters from the Bible but also celebrated heroes of romance and contemporaneous history—the labors of Hercules, the siege of Troy, the destruction of Jerusalem, the Romance of the Rose, the history of Moses, the Sybils, Jonathan, Nebuchadnezzar, and the battle of Formigny, in which Charles VII triumphed over the English.

No side of art was overlooked by Anne, and the true worth of her possessions which have come down to us reflects the depth and charm of Anne's character and her rare power of dis-

crimination for the best, as shown by the artists she called to her court. By means of their efforts our duchess surrounded herself with that which was beautiful and pleasing to look upon, whether in her bedroom and oratory or her dining-room and salon, the latter a fitting background for those receptions at which the duchess-queen so graciously presided.

CHAPTER XVI

LE LIVRE D'HEURES OF ANNE DE BRETAGNE

THE Book of Hours [1] of Anne of Brittany was her prayer-book. It is one of the most famous illuminated manuscripts in the world—a triumph of artistic production. Not only is it one of the most perfect monuments of French art at the end of the fifteenth century, but it is also a striking proof of the delicate taste of the queen-duchess, who wisely chose skillful painters for the execution of a book which she was to use in her daily devotions.

On nearly every page the flowers, plants, fruits, and insects of Touraine, that "laughing garden of France," shine forth in their living colors, a reminder of Anne's delight in nature, and especially in her gardens,—the one made for her by Charles VIII at the château of Amboise, and the other by Louis XII at the château of Blois. Anne of Brittany herself permeates

[1] The original, once in the Museum of Sovereigns in the Louvre, is now in the National Library in Paris.

the whole work. Every page represents her garden with its flowers or fruits she loved to watch and gather.

In having a collection of prayers for her use made *de luxe,* and at great expense, by the distinguished artists of her time, she was conforming to a custom which for several centuries had been practiced by Christian Europe. To take examples from France alone: about 781, Charlemagne and his wife, Hildegarde, had the Gospels written in letters of gold upon purple vellum, while Charles the Bald had a prayer-book, a Bible, and two psalters, one of which belonged to his mother, Blanche of Castille, who received it from her husband, Louis VIII. Charles V also put his signature into this beautiful and precious volume.

Down to the time of Louis XIV it was the custom of kings and princes to possess one or more books of prayer of great magnificence; even the common people indulged in this luxury. A Book of Hours, like a piece of furniture, was an heirloom in a family, and was handed down from one generation to another. In the margins, births, marriages, and deaths were recorded in the same way as in our family Bibles.

The Book of Hours of Anne of Brittany forms a folio volume of thirty centimeters by nineteen centimeters. Since the time of Louis XIV its binding in dull black has enclosed two hundred and forty pages of white vellum, and is held together by two clasps of silver gilt with the initial of the duchess, a Gothic **A**, surmounted by a crown. The book is enriched by numerous miniatures and reproductions of flowers, plants, and fruits known in France, upon which are placed the insects belonging to each variety. Then there are many ornamental initials and little vignettes or engravings placed either at the beginning of chapters, or between the verses, or at the ends of the lines. We read that Anne used the Book of Hours so much that it was rebound during her life. The miniatures appear to have been done by French artists, who have, in a worthy manner, dignified their country and religion. The designs bordering the pages are from the hand of Jean Poyet.

Forty-nine large miniatures of the Evangelists and Saints are taken from the Old and New Testaments. These are placed in the volume at irregular intervals, according to the sense of the text. The twelve pages devoted to a cal-

endar are surrounded by various pictures which are placed in the borders as usual in Books of Hours. They represent the occupations of the country during each month. The peasants are charmingly shown and give an exact idea of the varied nature of fresh and laughing Touraine. They were probably painted from life.

Besides these are seventeen complete *encadrements,* which entirely surround the text; thirty-three *demi-encadrements,* which fill a part of the margin; two hundred and eighty-two panel-like strips painted on a background of gold on the outer margin only, and containing flowers, plants, or fruit; two pages of initials and devices; eighty-five blank pages, and four pages for the fly-leaf, making the total four hundred and eighty-four. The crowned *L, A, A, L,* initials of Anne de Bretagne and Louis XII, are painted on the corners of the back of the first leaf, and there is in the center a vast coat of arms, part of France and part of Brittany, encircled by the *cordelière.* The same initials are repeated on the right side of the last leaf, with a crown formed by a circular border of blue shells around letters forming the two words, *non mudera* (*elle ne changera pas*) in the middle of the

page. In the reproduction these designs are used on the first cover page of each volume.

The book itself includes four very distinct types of illustrations, the calendar, three hundred and thirty-two floral decorations on a gold ground, the graceful initials and little vignettes which separate the chapters and verses and fill out the lines, and, last of all, forty-nine large pictures. The initials and the vignettes covering the pages of this beautiful volume are painted in perfect taste on a gold ground in two colors only, pale lilac and white, doubtless by the same hand, with a remarkable variety of designs, and in harmony with the text and the flowers that adorn it without injuring the composition. The illustrations dedicated to plants, flowers, fruits, and insects form the most considerable portion of the decoration of the volume, and give to the book, aside from any question of art, a special character, as they prove also the fondness of the queen for flowers. If it is true, as has been said, that the plants painted upon the margins of this book were found in the gardens of the château, it did credit to the gardeners. At Blois [1] there was a high garden and a

[1] The expense account tells of marble fountains made at Tours for the gardens at Blois.

low garden which Louis and Anne went to great expense to embellish. The smaller one, which was the low garden, received the name "Garden of the Queen," as it was the one she preferred.

In the panel-like decorations in the outer margin of the book the Latin name of the plant is written in scarlet letters at the top of the page, and the French name is underneath in letters of gold upon a band of color. One can scarcely believe to what an artistic point the artist has carried the truth of his design, the freshness and vivacity of the colors. To give life to each one of the plants, he has added the insects or little animals that cling to the plants or flowers, that fly, that crawl and live among them. A little green toad is painted at the foot of the garden-cress; upon the primrose and the poppies there are two butterflies and a bee, and on the lilies and red roses a bee, caterpillar, lady-bug, spider, several butterflies, a grasshopper and a snail. Sometimes the artist animates the scene as in one illustration which represents the nuts of the wood, where two monkeys are quarreling over the fruit near which they are found on the stem at the bottom of the page. The charm of these artistic gems has been acknowledged by

Frognall Dibdin, a well known English bibliographer, seldom given to enthusiasm, who says, "I cannot indeed find expression, as I would like for my appreciation of the greater part of these decorations, the plum seems just ready to eat, the diaphanous wings of the butterfly seem to quiver, the velvety insects agitate the fibers and muscles of the foliage as they cling to the leaves sparkling with dew or covered with the lightest down. Flowers and vegetables rival nature in their admirable execution."

It is just to say that the reproduction of the plants and flowers is beyond criticism and also exact from a scientific point of view, showing that they were scrupulously studied. But as regards the insects, molluscs, crustaceans on or among the plants, the artist, without reference to science, has followed his fantasy and his little animals are agreeable to look at but impossible to find in the works of creation.

Anne, herself, is pictured in her Book of Hours, the first time on page 7 in the second large miniature. In serious mood she is kneeling in front of a table upon which a Book of Hours is spread open before her. Anne is dressed in a golden brown flowing robe with red

Anne and her Three Patron Saints:
Saint Ursula, Saint Margaret, and Saint Anne.

undersleeves and a dark Breton cap edged with gold trimmings and faced with a plaited white ruching. Behind her are standing her three patron saints, Saint Ursula holding an arrow and a banner with the ermine and the arms of Brittany upon it; Saint Margaret with a processional cross, and Saint Anne with her left hand placed upon the shoulder of her protégée, her right hand seeming to recommend her to the crucified Jesus on the opposite page.

In a lighter mood we see Anne in the picture which illustrates the month of April. In the background is a château which is easily recognized as the château of Blois. At the bottom of the page is the Low Garden that the queen loved and that bore her name. In the garden before a trellis protecting a plot blossoming with flowers, stands a young girl; in the foreground, in everyday dress, is Anne of Brittany herself seated on the ground, holding a crown in her left hand. A waiting-maid on her knees before her, offers her a basketful of flowers of different kinds. This simple graceful picture done by a contemporary of the Duchess Anne brings us into a close personal relation with her.

For there she lives again for us in her attractive red robe and Breton cap as vividly as when she and her maids-of-honor enjoyed the fragrance of the Duchess Anne's Low Garden at the château of Blois.

CHAPTER XVII

LAST YEARS OF THE DUCHESS ANNE

From affairs of love to affairs of war was but a short step, for after the betrothal of Claude to Francis, Anne saw Louis off for Italy again.

After the disappointment over her daughter's nuptials, her visit to Brittany was only a connecting link with another parting. This time she saw him go with less apprehension than usual, since he went to unite with Ferdinand of Spain in a plan to take Naples and divide it between them, a plan in which Pope Alexander VI joined, and which therefore must have seemed propitious to Anne. But a quarrel between the two kings over the division of Naples brought France and Spain into conflict and Louis into serious relations with the church of Rome. In the midst of the dispute Alexander VI died, and Pius III did not live long enough to take it up; but the real trouble came with Julius II, who determined to destroy all for-

eign power in Italy, and later, in 1510, he excommunicated the king. Upon the accession of Leo X, however, this ban was removed.

The year 1507, while it did not bring any great disaster, was a troubled one. News of the revolt of Genoa caused Louis to leave his queen on Easter morning to go to Italy again. Jean Marot, secretary and poet-laureate, accompanied him with orders from the queen to write in verse a true account of the journey. In his poem "*Le Voyage à Gènes*" he calls her "Anne duchess of Brittany, twice divinely crowned, incomparable queen." Her distress at the departure of Louis is thus told:

> From fair Grenoble the king departs
> With face of holy light,
> His lovely queen too sad of heart
> To speak her sorrow's plight.
> Like Dido of her love bereft,
> Or sad Medea in her woe,
> Her noble heart with pain is cleft
> With right good reason so.

Then Marot describes Anne and her ladies going barefoot to shrines to pray for the king at war, and how at Lyons the queen remained to mourn until her distress was turned to joy

over his great victory, news of which she sent by messengers broadcast. The poem closes with an account of the triumphs and return of Louis:

> He tarries not in any place
> More than a day.
> To see his dear one face to face,
> The king must haste away,
> She journeys too, his queen so fair,
> To meet her chosen lord,
> And at Vigilles with joyous prayer
> They join in one accord.
> Now vanish fears,
> For memories sweet
> With sighs and tears
> In pleasure meet.
> And cavaliers in bright array
> With ladies join the train,
> While naught the shouting can withstay,
> The King, the King is home again!

During the reign of Louis the queen went often to Lyons, sometimes to accompany him on his way to Italy, sometimes to greet him on his return. On one of these visits she shared with the king in his great triumph over the capture of Ludovico "Il Moro," who had usurped the regency of Milan and whose treachery to the French had caused Louis to write to his general

La Trémoïlle, "I shall never be at ease until Ludovico has been brought over the mountains."

Lyons was indeed a place of meeting and parting, and many a sad and beautiful scene took place there between the devoted pair. One of these is recorded in this year, 1507, when Anne tried to persuade Louis not to go again to Italy. She told him of her fears for his welfare, and added, as a crowning touch, the plea that little Claude needed him, and pictured the happiness they would have together, hoping in this way to entice him home, but he could not be persuaded, for he felt that an imperious duty compelled him to take up the conflict again. But while he could not accede to her request, he displayed for her the greatest tenderness and made most careful provision for her return, choosing out of his Swiss Guard twenty-four of the strongest men, to serve in relays, eight at a time, and to carry her in a litter, to spare her as much as possible the fatigue of the journey. He himself accompanied her some distance on the way, and promised her that he would join her as soon as possible at Blois. In April Anne was anxious again about their daughter, who

was taken with a fever that was pronounced incurable. Claude was then the only child, a little more than seven. In spite of the gloomy prognostication of the doctors, she regained her health, and this so confirmed the queen in her lack of faith in them that she refused to see physicians herself and did not wish them to come near her child.

The next year, 1508, opened with a great disappointment, the birth of a son without life, but after this, and throughout the following year, Anne's days passed with more serenity.

During the summer she was busy about the monument being erected to her father and mother at Nantes, a grateful task. In August the duchess had a remarkable escape from drowning. While she was crossing a wooden bridge over the Loire, the boards gave way under the feet of her horses, who disappeared in the water. By what seemed a miracle her litter remained suspended on the edge of the opening, and she was thus saved from what might have been a fatal plunge.

In the fall the queen journeyed to Rouen with the king, and December, 1508, saw his position strengthened by the formation of the League of

Cambray, in which Louis, Maximilian, the Pope, and Ferdinand united to divide the republic of Venice. This meant another invasion of Italy, and in February (1509) the king set out from Blois attended by the queen and princes of the court, but not in battle array, for Anne felt so deeply these partings that, to spare her anxiety as long as possible, the king concealed from her, at first, the fact that he was going to Italy, and traveled by easy stages, hunting along the way. At Grenoble, when he could delay no longer, he left her, and, with her, Francis, who was even then longing to go to the land of great adventure.

In spite of the favorable outlook, Anne was not able to face the king's departure with anything but great anxiety. She went at once to Lyons, where heralds could reach her more quickly, and spent much of her time in prayer. Dressed in mourning, she and her maids-of-honor again walked barefoot from one church to another to implore God's help. Soon the news of a great victory made the whole land rejoice and Anne's heart swell with pride, especially when two Venetian standards were sent home by Louis as trophies of war. She did not

see him again until July, when he left Milan for France. On his way back he had a fever, and for eight days Anne prayed continually for his recovery.

The queen met him near Grenoble, but he would not tarry there or anywhere until he had hastened to St. Denis, and, in the presence of the sacred relics on the altar, had made an act of thanksgiving for his safe return.

To turn aside a moment from war to Anne's social life, we find an interesting event in the autumn of this year,—the marriage of Marguerite, the daughter of Louise of Savoy, and the duke d'Alençon, an illustration of the court functions which the king and queen honored.

Marguerite was four years old when her father died, while her brother Francis was only two. Through the relationship of their father with the king, they naturally became wards of Louis XII, who was very fond of his niece and nephew. The boy was handsome, strong, and skilful in horsemanship and warlike sports, while the girl was so beautiful and accomplished, that she was called the "Lily of Valois" and the tenth muse.[1] At the wedding it

[1] She is the author of the "Heptameron."

was the king who conducted the bride to the chapel and to the banquet which followed. A description of the conduct of the feast brings us into intimate touch with the table etiquette of Anne's court. The queen, the bride, one or two noble dames, and the ambassadors sat at one table, the queen in the center, while the bridegroom, the princes of the blood, and the rest of the ladies sat at another. Only Anne, the queen, Marguerite, the bride, and the old duchess de Bourbon had plates of their own. The rest were served on gold plate but ate in common. The queen gave the heralds a large silver-gilt vase, and they went about crying, "*Largesse! largesse!*"—"a gift, a gift!" After the dinner there were dances and a tournament. The bridegroom and eight other princes entered the lists with a great company, some in cloth of gold, others in yellow silk.

RENÉE

In spite of her many disappointments over her children, Anne continued to pray for a dauphin, and made it the object of many pilgrimages, on some of which the king accompanied her. Although these petitions were not

granted, she named her second daughter, born at Blois, October 25, 1510, Renée, for St. René of Anjou, who was believed to hear the prayer of mothers who desired sons, a touching proof that although a male heir was greatly longed for, there was no lack of gratitude on the part of the king and queen for the girls that came instead. The loving solicitude of Louis for Anne was especially shown by the great effort he made to reach her at the time of this illness. He left Lyons by daylight and traveled so fast that some of his attendants could not keep up with him. The greetings of the loving pair were most affectionate and joyous, and Louis shared in her suffering by remaining at her bedside.

After this the queen was never well. It was the beginning of the end, and it has been said that the reason was lack of medical treatment at this time, although she had the best that could be obtained.

The Princess Renée was plain and not well formed, but learned, especially in astrology and metaphysics, a fine conversationalist, one of the leaders of the Reformation, and a great friend of Calvin, who was often her guest at her home

in Geneva. It seems singular that so devout a Roman Catholic as Anne should have had a daughter a stanch Protestant, until we remember that Renée was only four years old when her mother died. Even at this early age her mother had planned to marry her to the prince of Castille, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, and had sent to her niece, Germaine de Foix, then queen of Aragon, an ambassador, giving full power to treat not only for the marriage of Renée but also for an amicable understanding between the king of France and the king of Spain. This wish was not carried out, for Renée was married in 1528 to Ercole d'Este and became duchess of Ferrara. She had five children and lived to be sixty-four years old. Her virtues and endowments have been eulogized in the poems of Clément Marot.

How much it is to be regretted that Anne did not have sons as well as daughters, since France might then have been saved the rule of the voluptuous kings that followed!

Perhaps the darkest year in all Anne's life was that of 1512. Of its sad beginning there is a record in the journal of Louise of Savoy: "Anne, queen of France, at Blois on the day

ANNE IN LATER YEARS.

of St. Agnes, January 21, 1512, had a son, but he could not retard the exaltation of my Cæsar, for he was without life." This bitter disappointment was but a prelude to overwhelming disaster and trial. Among Anne's personal losses was that of the Breton ship *Cordelière.* In Italy the king's army, now under the command of his nephew, Gaston de Foix, a noble and brave knight, met with nothing but reverses. Alone against the Holy League,[1] Louis found an enemy at every turn, an enemy that in the next year actually invaded France. Anne was bitterly grieved that her husband was at war with the Pope, and put forth every effort to make peace between them. One time Louis wittily replied to her pleading, "The holy father aims at royal honors; St. Peter did not have time to look after the affairs of Nero, which in truth did not belong to him." And again, when his patience was sorely tried, he asked her, "Have not your confessors told you that women have no voice in the affairs of the church?" How she must have suffered when

[1] 1511–1512. The Holy League against Louis was made up of the Venetians, Ferdinand of Spain, Henry VIII of England, Maximilian of Austria, and the Swiss, all led by Pope Julius II.

Louis was actually excommunicated by the Pope can scarcely be imagined. That his subjects and some of the cardinals supported the king, and that a national council declared "France free from obedience to Julius II" was no consolation to her. That she herself was not included in the ban, nor her duchy, because she had allowed the people to take no part in the controversy, was but little comfort.

According to her belief Louis was guilty of heresy, and she feared for the salvation of his soul. In her zeal for religion nothing could have caused her more distress, but she did not allow it to estrange her from her husband nor to interfere with her duties as queen. When tears and entreaties failed, she redoubled her devotions, going from church to church with prayers for the end of the war. Finally Anne succeeded in persuading Louis to let her act as an intermediary, a mission in which she would doubtless have been successful had not Julius II died before it could be carried out. In his last moments he showed his regret for his warlike ardor and political aspirations by saying, "Would to God that I had not been pope, or that I had employed the arms I turned against

Christendom against the infidel." At the dying request of the queen, Louis sought reconciliation with the papal court, and obtained it from Leo X, who succeeded Julius. This was considered by the French clergy the most meritorious act of his life. It is comforting to know that before Anne passed away, the king and the Pope had become reconciled, and that the dawn of peace, so near at hand, brightened her end.

CHAPTER XVIII

DEATH AND FUNERAL OF THE QUEEN

For some time before her death those nearest the queen had been anxious about her health, as the strain and stress of her life had gradually undermined her splendid physical powers. In March, 1511, she was very ill and her end seemed near. The doctors despaired of saving her, but after receiving extreme unction she revived, and in April her convalescence was announced. The grief and disappointment, over the birth of a son without life in January, 1512, was followed by consequences most grave. Although her strong constitution made a good resistance, her suffering was beyond the power of doctors to relieve. February 4, 1514, Anne had a violent attack of her malady called *gravelle,* and a week later, in great pain, she breathed her last. Her attendants, who seemed to share her lack of faith in doctors, declared that she died in full health, and that the

doctors "ought to be driven away" for their inability to save her.

In his "Memorial and Notice of the Death of My Very Revered and Sovereign Lady, Madame Anne, Twice Queen of France, Duchess of Brittany, Sole Heiress of this Noble Duchy, Countess of Montfort, of Richemont, of Etampes, and of Vertuz," Bretagne, king-at-arms, quaintly writes: "In the sorrowful month of tears and lamentations, 1514,[1] the noble queen and duchess, our sovereign lady and mistress, gave up her soul to God. She died in her own chamber in her own bed in the château of Blois, with a great number of priests watching day and night and saying vigils and vespers."

On the day of her death, her body was carried to the room of state, a room decorated with black velvet on which was the device and coat-of-arms of the queen, with silk tapestries worked in gold thread representing the destruction of Jerusalem, and an altar bearing the device of the twisted cords. Over the bier was

[1] Sometimes the death of Anne is given as January 9, 1513. This was under the old calendar, when the year commenced with Easter, but the change to the new calendar, which made the year begin with January, brings her death in the year 1514. This change in the calendar will account for other apparent discrepancies.

a canopy of cloth of gold with a border of ermine. Her robe of purple velvet was trimmed with ermine and had sleeves ornamented with pearls. Upon her head was the crown and a headdress adorned with precious stones. Her scepter and rod of justice were placed, the one on the right, and the other on the left. At her feet were a gold cross and two silver basins of holy water. So lay the dead queen, her face uncovered, from Saturday to Monday evening. Thus lying in state, her body was visited by princes and princesses of her family, by Madame de Mailly, her first maid-of-honor, and by the officers of the house, who were admitted to see their mistress for the last time. They were dressed in black, "and as they looked at the face not yet changed they mourned with tears and sighs and piteous lamentations."

Eight days later the body was placed in a wooden casket, in which sad office several of the principal persons of her household participated. When the veil was placed over the face of the queen, they cried, "O noble lady, O sovereign and renowned princess, must we lose forever the sight of your noble face?" Many touched her; some her face, others her shroud.

Long lasted their tears, until each one departed, saying, "Behold this is our queen and mistress; pray God for her."

On the afternoon of the fifteenth day the funeral procession began. After the body of the queen came the royal mourners, Francis I, Madame de Bourbon, Madame d'Angoulême, and the duke and duchess d'Alençon and their daughter. Then Madame de Mailly followed with the ladies of the court, two by two, clad alike in trailing garments, after them marched the Scottish prince, duke of Albany, ambassadors, lords of Brittany and of France, chamberlains, gentlemen, archbishops and bishops, each according to his rank. The duke of Bourbonnais with a number of Swiss soldiers kept the crowd back. In this way the body of the noble queen entered the church of St. Sauveur at Blois, and was placed in a lighted chapel of five stories surmounted by a bell-tower terminating in a cross.

The next morning a solemn service of three masses was said; the first by the bishop of Paris, the second by the bishop of Limoges and the third by the archbishop of Bayeux. Then M. Parvy, confessor of the queen, pronounced

the first part of the funeral oration with the text, "Deficit gaudium cordis nostri," "Joy has gone from our hearts." In his sermon he used thirty-seven epithets in praise of the queen, one for each year of her life, and showed how her virtues had won Paradise for her. While the *Libera* was chanted, the mourners left the church in the midst of tears and wailing. Outside the church and at the gate of the château verses called *rondeaux* were recited.

RONDEAU A CHÂTEAU DE BLOIS

Château de Bloys, plus n'a cause d'estre aise
Puys que la royne en tristesse et doulleur,
Le vendredi d'après la Chandelleur,
Mort la ravit l'an mil cinq cent treize.

Immediately a trumpet made known throughout the village that each one should be ready to conduct the body as had been ordered, and that nothing should obstruct the way. The château and the houses displayed coats-of-arms brilliantly lighted, and people came from Tours and Amboise mourning the loss of the queen. The commissaries had charge of four hundred torches which illuminated the queen's coat-of-arms, and fifty torch-bearers of Blois never left the body until they reached St. Denis.

Twenty days after the death of the queen, the casket was placed upon a four-wheeled chariot covered with black velvet upon which were satin crosses in white. The car was drawn by six horses, beautiful and strong, harnessed with black velvet, adorned with white satin crosses. Nothing like it had ever been seen before. With horsemen and archers leading, and Swiss guards in black making a hedge on either side, the procession began its ten days' march to Paris. The population ran in crowds before or knelt by the roadside praying for the queen-duchess, while her almoner, remembering that she never came among them without hands full of benefits, showered alms along the way. Services were celebrated in the eight villages where they stopped, with especial pomp at Orléans and Etampes. Orléans considered Anne as her very own, because the mother of Duke Francis II was Marguerite of Orléans; and Etampes was proud of the fact of having been a part of Anne's dowry. But these receptions were surpassed by that of Paris, which honored her as the wife of two kings of France and as the founder of the Cordelières.

After tarrying a night at the abbey of *Notre*

Dame des Champs, at the gates of Paris, the cortège proceeded to *Notre Dame de Paris* through streets lined with black, violet, and blue. To those accompanying the funeral-car were added officers of the city, archers, mendicants, Augustinians, Carmelites, twenty-four criers, the provost of Paris, the chapter of Notre Dame, the clergy, and the rector of the university. The archers of the king surrounded the casket and the lords of Parliament followed it as it was borne by the officers of the house, weeping and uttering deep groans. The princes and princesses of the blood had come from Blois mounted on little black mules harnessed in velvet, and the maids-of-honor were on hackneys, two by two, each one led by a valet on foot.

The entrance and interior of the cathedral had been hung with black cloth on which were placed the arms of the queen. When all had taken their places,—the clergy near the altar, those of the court of justice near the door, the ones from the university on the right and the Parisians on the left,—M. Parvy pronounced the second part of the funeral oration from the text "Conversus est in luctum chorus

noster," "Our song is turned into joy." He dried their tears by a recital of the great qualities of the noble and virtuous queen whose memory needed no exaltation.

In the afternoon twenty-four criers went about Paris calling, "Honorable and devoted people, pray God for the soul of the very high, very powerful, very excellent, magnanimous and beautiful Princess Anne, by the grace of God, in her life, queen of France, duchess of Brittany, who passed away at the château of Blois the ninth day of January, and is now at the church of Notre Dame. Say paternosters that God have mercy on her."

That same day the body was placed in the abbey of St. Denis, in a chapel lighted and richly decorated. The next day a solemn service was held and M. Parvy pronounced the third part of the funeral oration, including the genealogy of the queen. He began with these words of the Scripture: *"Cecidit corona capitis nostri,"*—"The crown has fallen from the head of our ruler." Then he spoke of the story that traces the queen's ancestry back to Inoge, wife of Brutus, and gave an account of the origin of the ermine as an emblem. During a hunt, an

ermine cruelly pursued by the dogs of Brutus ran to the lap of Inoge, who saved it, cared for it, and adopted it for her insignia. He showed how the noble lineage of Anne was comparable to that of any princess in the world, and declared that she had never failed to follow the examples of the saints.

Then the cardinal of Le Mans rose to give absolution. For this they put upon his shoulders a mantle of cloth of gold embroidered with pearls and the coat of arms of the queen. The hood was in the shape of a great rose, with a ruby in the middle as large as a nut. On the border of this cape Anne herself and her maids had worked, and Anne had bequeathed it to the treasury of St. Denis. After absolution the casket was lowered into the vault in front of the great altar, a vault of cut stone which Louis XII had prepared for himself and his wife.[1]

In a niche was the statue of Our Lady in marble, ornamented in gold and silver, with the shield of France on the right and that of Brittany on the left.

When the cardinal, officiating, had thrown a

[1] January 1, 1515, Louis died and his body was placed beside that of Anne.

little earth on the tomb, Champagne, king-at-arms of France, advanced and cried in a loud voice, "King-at-arms of the Bretons, do your duty." Then Bretagne, clad in his coat of mail, cried, "The queen and very Christian duchess, our sovereign lady and mistress, is dead." After these piteous words Bretagne called in a loud voice, "Monsieur, cavalier of honor of the queen and duchess, bring the rod of justice." Thereupon the said cavalier kissed the scepter and passed it to the king-at-arms, who placed it upon the tomb. The same ceremony was repeated with the grand master, who brought the scepter, and the grand equerry, who bore the royal crown. Then said Bretagne, "Lords and ladies of the house of the very Christian queen and duchess 'do your duty.'" Whereupon each one threw the insignia of his office into the vault. Then the people were allowed to approach. With tears and sighs each knelt and made a short prayer.

At noon of this day the sumptuous funeral-repast arranged by the first steward of the queen was held. Monsieur d'Avaugour, called "her natural brother," presided as grand master of Brittany. After the repast he arose and

addressed the officers around him: "Gentlemen, the very Christian queen and duchess, our sovereign lady and mistress, has lived with you and loved you. You have loyally served her. It has pleased God to take her away from us; if I can serve you in any way, I shall do so with right good will. You can withdraw to the king our sire and to the ladies, and in order to know that there is no longer open house, I break the baton."

Then the king-at-arms, Bretagne, commenced to cry in a loud voice, saying, "The very Christian queen and duchess, our sovereign lady and mistress, is dead. Let each one go his way."

Among the many epitaphs written for her is the following:

> Here lies Anne, the royal mate
> Of two French kings both good and great.
> And great herself a hundred fold,
> Richer than any queen of old,
> She gave to France a broad domain
> Throughout all ages to remain.

To preserve the memory of these ceremonies, Louis ordered Peter Choque, who was devoted to the queen, to make a faithful recital of the funeral, and further authorized that the manu-

scripts should contain eleven illustrations of the principal scenes, to be done by John of Paris, who also took a cast of her face from which to make a portrait.

Each of these copies had a special dedication in it, and were given to the princes of the blood royal and relatives of the queen. Louis still further showed his grief by wearing black, as Anne had done in her days of mourning, and by requesting princes, ambassadors, courtiers, and even the servants to wear it for several weeks; he also prohibited games, dances, and plays in France. Strange as it seems, the mourning was abruptly ended by preparations for the marriage of Louis XII and Mary Tudor of England, sister of Henry VIII, and only nine months after Anne's death, for reasons of state, this singular union took place.

The expense of Anne's funeral was so great that some of the provinces murmured, and at the council of the king, one day, its grandeur and that maintained in her life was spoken of with disrespect. But Guy Laval, to whom Anne had married the daughter of Frederick III, of Aragon, arose and said: "I do not know why you speak thus; recall and consider that,

since the establishment of our kingdom, you have not had a queen that was so great a lady nor one who elevated you so much. Show me a foot of territory that your other queens have added. By her you have closed the path to your enemies who threatened even the heart of your kingdom. The memory of those things ought to be kept fresh among you."

At the last, true to her own country and people, Anne willed that her heart be sent to Nantes among the Bretons whom she deeply loved. It was placed in a heart of gold surmounted by a crown, entwined with twisted cords of gold, and enameled in white, inside and out.

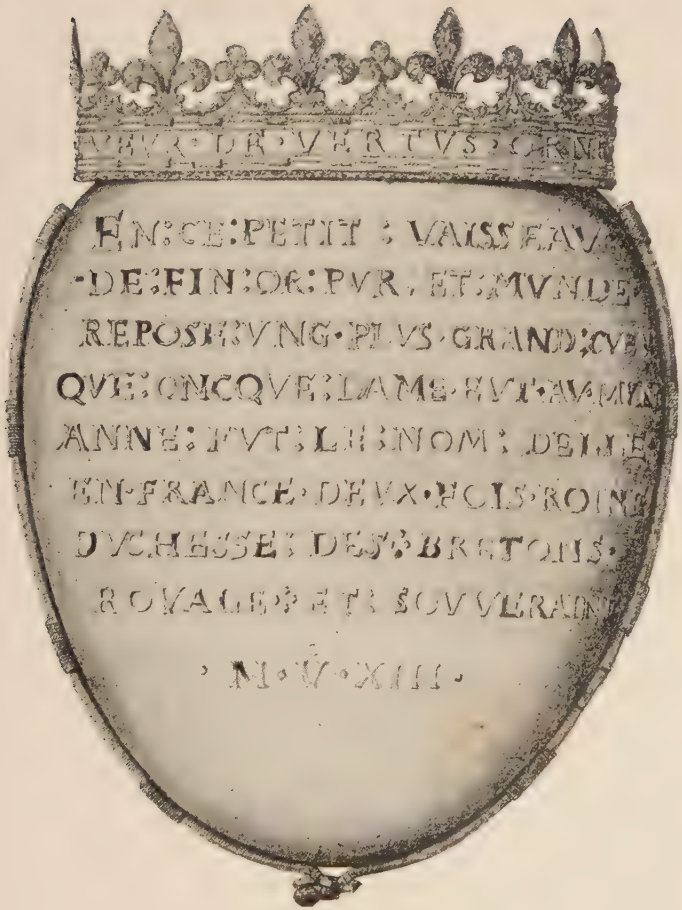
On one side was inscribed:

In this little vase
Of pure and shining gold
A lady rests from out this world;
Her name was Anne,
Twice queen of France,
Duchess of the Bretons,
Royal and Sovereign.

C
.M.V.XIII.

On the other side:

This heart was so exalted
That from earth to heaven



GOLD BOX WHICH ONCE CONTAINED ANNE'S HEART.

Her liberal virtue
Increased more and more.
But God took away
The better portion
And this part terrestrial
Has left us in great mourning.

JANUARY 9.

On the circle of the crown we read, "Heart with virtue adorned, with honor crowned."

In March this heart, as she had requested, was taken to Nantes by several Breton lords and deposited with great ceremony in the church of Chartreux de Nantes, upon the tomb of Arthur III, duke of Brittany. The following Sunday it was borne to the Carmelite convent, and, after a solemn service, placed in the tomb erected by Anne herself to her father and mother.

In 1727, when this tomb was opened by order of Louis XV, there were found the caskets of the duke and his two wives and the box containing the heart of the duchess. During the French Revolution, when the church of the Carmelites was destroyed, the mausoleum was opened a second time and mutilated, but the pieces were saved, as by a miracle, and hidden

away for more than twenty years. Finally, by order of the mayor of Nantes, the masterpiece of Michel Colomb was set up in the cathedral, where it has been ever since. But the heart of Anne was not put back. The leaden box had been broken and the heart of gold was taken to the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. Upon the demand of the municipal council of Nantes, however, and in memory of Anne's own love of country, the precious relic was returned to them in 1817 and is now in the archæological museum at Nantes. There any one interested can see it and decipher the inscriptions.

THE TOMB OF ANNE

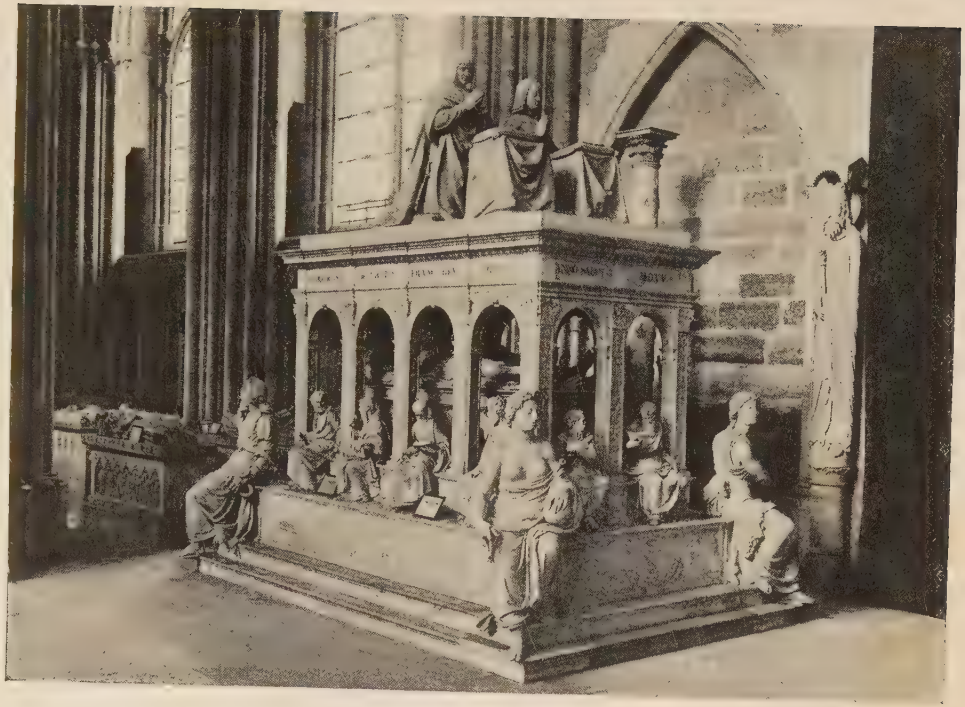
Over rough pavements, a jolting ride of about an hour out of Paris brought us to the old abbey church of St. Denis, the burial-place of the kings and queens of France from Dagobert (638) to Louis XVIII (1824). In the darkness of a severe thunderstorm which seemed typical of Anne's own turbulent life, we followed the verger through the gloomy edifice, lingering awhile before the tomb of Louis and Anne, one of the most remarkable in the world, even among the monuments of kings.

By order of Francis I, the sculptor Jean Just, of the celebrated school of Tours, executed this great work, "worthy in every point of his royal majesty."

In form it is a marble chapel, with twelve arcades and a sarcophagus. The idea of the artist, which is to contrast regal power in life and its end in death, is carried out by portrait-statues of the king and queen. On top of the edifice they are kneeling in robes of ermine, with hands clasped in prayer, but below, on a sarcophagus, they are in their winding-sheets, shorn of all splendor and majesty. The decoration of the tomb is most elaborate and includes scenes from the life of Louis and figures of the twelve apostles. Between the arcades are vases, fruits, birds, winged women, heads of angels, musical instruments, weapons of war, and funeral emblems. The monogram of Louis and Anne is not forgotten but is placed on a shield with a crown of fleurs-de-lis. On the pillars are the lilies of France and the ermine of Brittany, angels with trumpets and figures with torches. Looking at this tomb, we are brought to the close of Anne's life and to one of the greatest pageants ever witnessed,

since nothing could surpass in magnificence the last ceremonies celebrated in honor of Anne of Brittany.

So it has come about that in death, as in life, the body of the Duchess Anne is in France, while her heart is in Brittany among the people she always loved.



Tomb of Louis XII and Anne.—St. Denis.

FINIS

Our quest of the Duchess Anne ended, what can we say of her? First of all, she was a devoted wife and mother. Could there be higher praise? Surely the words of Solomon, "She looketh well to her household," apply to her. She was a benefactress to churches, hospitals, and religious orders; a Dorcas to the poor, distributing alms in abundance; a devout worshiper in her own religion; a leader among women; a model of chastity and refinement; a patron of arts and letters; a patriot whose love of country has never been surpassed; a wise and able ruler over a powerful duchy; a queen "twice crowned"; the originator of the first court for women in Europe; the strengthener of the French navy; the founder of a religious order; the worthy mate of two good kings of France. But when everything that is possible of her life has been revealed, this queen is best known by her own people, in whose hearts she is enshrined, and by those who learn of her

through travel and history, not as Anne, "a twice-crowned queen of France," but as "Anne of Brittany, the Duchess Anne."

FINIS

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